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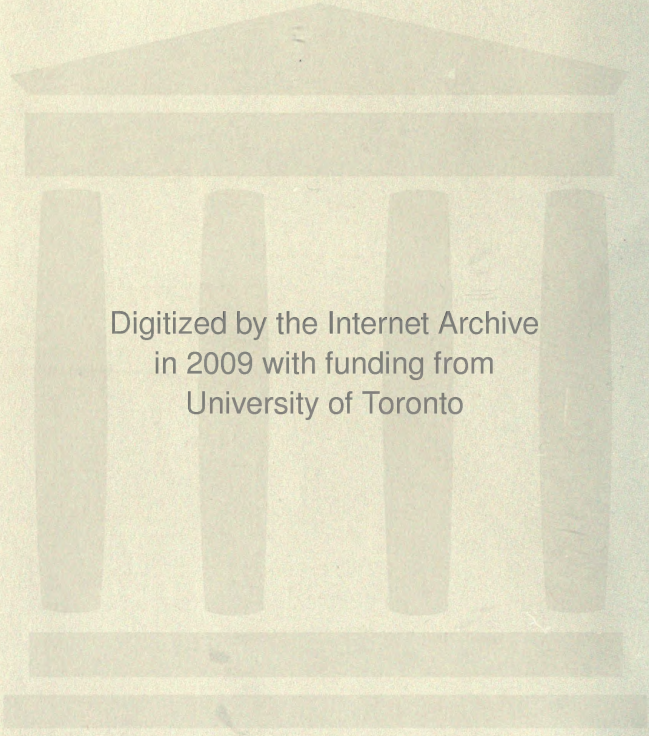
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MEMOIRS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN
AND
IRELAND;

FROM THE

Diſſolution of the laſt Parliament of CHARLES II. till the Capture of the French and Spaniſh Fleets at VIGO.

A NEW EDITION, IN THREE VOLUMES;
With the APPENDIXES Complete:

Conſiſting chiefly of
LETTERS from the FRENCH AMBASSADORS in ENGLAND to their COURT; and from
CHARLES II. JAMES II. King WILLIAM, and Queen MARY, And the MINISTERS and GENERALS of thoſe PRINCES.

Taken from the Depôt des Affaires etrangeres at VERSAILLES, and King WILLIAM's private Cabinet at KENSINGTON.

Interſperſed with HISTORICAL RELATIONS, neceſſary to connect the Papers together.

By Sir JOHN DALRYMPLE, Bart.
BARON OF EXCHEQUER IN SCOTLAND.

VOL. II.

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THE

CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

PART I. Continued.

APPENDIX to BOOK II.

Nº I. LETTERS from Barillon, which ſhew the dangerous connections of Lewis and James from the beginning of his reign Page 1—16

II. Letters concerning Monmouth's Rebellion — 16—32

III. The King's intrigues with Louis for money, and his chagrin on refuſal — — 32—57

BOOK III.

Proſperous Condition and Schemes of James.——His Speech to the ſecond Seſſion of Parliament.——Parliament rouſed.——Addreſs of the Commons.——The King's Anſwer.

——*The Lords prepare to imitate the Commons.*——*Parliament prorogued.*——*Similar Proceedings in Scottiſh Parliament.*——*It is prorogued.*——*Incampment on Hounſlow-heath.* — — Page 57

BOOK IV.

Sunderland's Promotion.——*Cabal of Seven, and its Plans.*——*Diſpenſing Power aſſerted.*——*Roman Catholics brought into Offices.*——*Scotland new-modelled.*——*And Ireland.*——*Letters Mandatory.*——*Sharpe's Trial.*——*Sunderland's Intrigues to remove Rocheſter and Clarendon.*——*Sunderland's Ambition diſappointed.*——*Attempts upon the Poſſeſſions of the Church.*——*Declaration of Indulgence.*——*Attempt to divide the Church and Diſſenters.*——*The King deceived by Addreſſes.*——*His Ideas of Government.*——*Attempt upon Magdalene College.*——*Biſhops Petition, and Conſequences of it.*——*Diſpoſitions of the Army.*——*Of the People.*——*Birth of the Prince of Wales.* — — 66

APPENDIX to BOOKS III. and IV.

Letters from Barillon, after Monmouth's defeat, which demonſtrate the reſolution of James to rule by will, and not by the conſtitution 102—111

BOOK V.

The Nation turns its Eyes to the Prince of Orange.——*Situation of the Prince, and of Holland, in the Year* 1688, *relative to other Nations.*——*The Prince's Movements in England.*——*His ſecret Preparations in Holland.*——*His Public Preparations.*——*James kept long in the dark.*

dark.——At laſt receives Intelligence of the intended Invaſion.——Offers of France to aſſiſt him.——Officers caſhiered for refuſing Popiſh Recruits.——James makes Advances to the Church.——His Preparations.——His Negotiations with the States.——Differences in the Prince's Engliſh Councils.——The Prince publiſhes his Declaration.——His Followers publiſh other Papers.——Interview of James with the Biſhops.——Inquiry into the Birth of the Prince of Wales.——The Prince of Orange detained by Croſs-winds.——State of Men's Minds in this Interval. — Page 1

APPENDIX to BOOK V.

N° I. Letters carried by Monſieur Dykvelt to the Prince of Orange from Lord Halifax, Lady Sunderland, Lord Churchill, Colonel Bellaſys; the Lords Sunderland, Nottingham, Clarendon, Rocheſter; Mr. Fitzpatrick; the Lords Danby, Devonſhire, Shrewſbury; Sir George M'Kenzie, the Biſhop of London, and the old Earl of Bedford; which contain the intrigues of Dykvelt in England, in the ſummer of the year 1687, for bringing about the Revolution 51—74

II. Correſpondence conducted by Count Zulieſtein — 74—85

III. Letters carried by other perſons than Dykvelt and Zulleſtein to the Prince about the ſame time, from Lord Devonſhire, Lady Sunderland, the Biſhop of London, the Marquis of Wincheſter, the Lords Shrewſbury, Danby, and Halifax — 86—99

King James's attempts on individuals about the teſts 99—102

IV. Letters to the Prince from Admiral Herbert, the Lords Shrewſbury, Lumley, Mr. Sidney, the Lords Latimer, Pembroke, Clarendon, Rocheſter, Halifax, and Nottingham; Admiral Ruſſel, the Biſhop of London, and Lord Churchill; together with the Aſſociation of Seven, which contain the intrigues of the Prince of Orange in England in the ſummer of the year 1688, conducted by Mr. Sydney and Count Zulieſtein — — 102—121

N° V. Intrigues of the Prince of Orange with the Pope, the Emperor, and the Elector of Brandenburg, previous to his expedition. Page 121—133

VI. Letters from Barillon to his court, which ſhew that King James intended to break the act of ſettlement in Ireland, and had three Popiſh regiments in England in the pay of France.—And intrigues of Lord Sunderland.—And King James's laſt letters to the Prince of Orange. — — 133—167

VII. The Princeſs Anne's letters to her ſiſter immediately before the Revolution. — — 167—185

BOOK VI.

The Prince of Orange takes his Farewel of the States.——Rendezvous at Helvoetſluys.——The Prince ſails.——Driven back.——Sails a ſecond Time.——Movements of his Fleet.——He lands at Torbay.——Firſt Events.——James joins his Army.——His Intention to ſend off the Prince of Wales diſappointed.——Different Counſels given to James in the Camp.——Inſurrections.——Flight of Prince George and the Princeſs.——James retires.——Conſternation in London.——James aſſembles the Peers.——Counſels which they give him.——Treaty.——Falſe Manifeſto.——Continuance of Inſurrections.——Miſery of James.——Different Counſels given to him in his Court.——Queen's Flight with the Prince of Wales.——Terrors of the King, and his Flight.——State of the City.——Univerſal Panic of an Iriſh Maſſacre.——Council of Peers.——James ſeized at Feverſham.——Returns to London.——Behaviour of the Prince upon this News.——The Dutch enter London in the Night.——The Prince's Meſſage to the King.——James goes to Rocheſter.——The Prince arrives in London.——James flies to France. — — 187

APPEN-

APPENDIX to BOOK VI.

Letters and memoirs relative to the intrigues of the fleet at the Revolution; and relating to the conduct of the King and Prince of Orange, after the Prince landed. — Page 227—260

BOOK VII.

The Prince calls together the Members of Charles the Second's two laſt Parliaments.——Proceedings of the Peers.——Of the Meeting of Commons.——Of the Scotch in London.——State of Men's Minds before the Convention meets.——The Prince's Behaviour and Letter to the Convention.—— State of Parties among the Commons.—— Commons paſs the Vote of Abdication.——State of Parties in the Houſe of Lords, and Intrigues there.——Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, on the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d Days of their Debates.——The Houſes differ.—— Effects of this Difference in the Nation.——Conference between the Houſes.——The Prince opens his Sentiments.——The Houſes agree.——The Settlement of the Government, and Claim of Rights.——Arrival of the Princeſs, and her Behaviour.——Tender of the Crown, and Reflections upon it. — — 261

BOOK VIII.

Mutiny of the Scottiſh Regiments in England.——Heads and State of Parties in Scotland.——Vigorous Meaſures of the Scottiſh Convention.——Lord Dundee's Attempts to diſturb it diſappointed.——Forfeiture of James.——Settlement of the Crown, and Claim of Rights.

Rights.——Panic of a Maſſacre in Ireland.——Revolt of Londonderry.——William's Neglect of Ireland.——State of Ireland. — Page 293

PART II.

BOOK I.

State of Parties.——Of Holland.——Of Parliament.——Of the Court.——Oppoſition in Parliament.——The Whigs attack the Tories.——The King's Arts to remove Oppoſition.——Parſimony of Parliament.——It hurts Public Credit.——The King's grand Scheme for compoſing Differences diſappointed.——Cauſes of this Diſappointment.——His Breach with the Church.——Declaration of War againſt France. — 1

APPENDIX to BOOK I.

Letters to King William from Lord and Lady Sunderland and Lord Godolphin, ſoon after the Revolution. — 29—44

BOOK II.

The late King's Arrival in Ireland.——State of that Kingdom.——The different Advices he gets.——Siege of Londonderry.——Clamours in England on account of it.——Sea-fight of Bantry-Bay.——Continuation of the Siege.——Barbarity

——*Barbarity of Marſhal Roſen.*——*The Siege raiſed.* ——*Fate of the Garriſon.*——*Proceedings of the Iriſh Parliament.*——*Exerciſe of Government in Ireland.*—— *James's own Conduct.*——*Lord Dundee's Exploits.*—— *Manners of the Highlanders, with their Cauſes.*—— *Their Dreſs, Armour, and Manner of War.*——*Battle of Killikranky.*——*Fate of Lord Dundee's Officers.* Page 45

APPENDIX to BOOK II.

Letters between Lord Dundee and Lord Strathnaver 95

King James's Speech — — 97

BOOK III.

Diſcontents in the Houſe of Commons.——*Clamours of the Merchants.*——*Continuation of Diſcontents.*——*Diviſions between the Houſes.*——*The Whigs renew their Attacks on the Tories.*——*Breach in the Royal Family.* ——*Two Laws of Political Oeconomy.*——*Diſcontents in Scotland, and Cauſes of them.*——*The King's Grand Scheme, for gaining the Scotch, diſappointed.*——*An Oppoſition in the Scottiſh Parliament.*——*Arts to irritate the Members.*——*They preſent a Remonſtrance.*——*Fruitleſs Attempts to pacify them.* — 99

APPENDIX to BOOK III.

Letter from the Princeſs Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne. — — 126

BOOK

BOOK IV.

Preparations for the War in Ireland.——Schomberg's March to Dundalk.——Schomberg's Encampment at Dundalk, and Miseries of his Army.——Retreat of the Armies into Quarters.——The King becomes unpopular.——Account of Church-matters.——Great Heats in Parliament.——The Commons resolve upon an Address disapproving of the King's Measures.——The King relieved from it by an Accident.——Dissensions revived in the Royal Family.——The King's Distress between the Whigs and the Tories.——He breaks with the Whigs, and dissolves the Parliament. — Page 129

APPENDIX to BOOK IV.

N° I. Duke of Schomberg's Letters. — 167—181

II. Intrigues of the Whigs and Tories with the King. 182—205

APPEN-

APPENDIX

TO

PART I. BOOK II.

N° I.

Letters from Barillon, which ſhew the dangerous connections of Louis and James from the beginning of his reign.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth. —James's apology to France for calling a parliament.— His averſion to parliaments.—His arbitrary views.— His zeal for popery.—Gives a hint for money from France.

February 19, 1685.

"YESTERDAY evening the King of England took me into his cloſet, and after having talked to me upon ſeveral home affairs of no great importance, he ſaid, "You may be perhaps ſurpriſed, but I hope you will be of my opinion when I have told you my reaſons. I have reſolved to call a parliament immediately, and to aſſemble it in the month of May. I ſhall publiſh at the ſame time a declaration that I am to maintain myſelf in the enjoyment of the ſame revenues the King my brother had. Without this proclamation for a parliament, I ſhould hazard too much by taking poſſeſſion directly of the revenue which was eſtabliſhed during the lifetime of my

deceaſed brother. It is a deciſive ſtroke for me to enter into poſſeſſion and enjoyment: For hereafter it will be much more eaſy for me either to put off the aſſembling of parliament, or to maintain myſelf by other means which may appear more convenient for me. Many people will ſay that I determine too haſtily in calling a parliament; but if I waited longer, I ſhould loſe the merit of it. I know the Engliſh: You muſt not ſhew them any fear in the beginning: The malecontents would have formed cabals to demand a parliament, and thereby have gained the favour of the nation, which they would afterwards have abuſed. I know very well that I ſhall yet find difficulties to ſurmount; but I ſhall get the better of them, and put myſelf in a condition to ſhew my gratitude for the infinite obligations I am under to the King your maſter.

"I know into what difficulties the deceaſed King my brother was thrown, when he ſuffered himſelf to waver with regard to France: I will take good care to hinder parliament from meddling in foreign affairs, and will put an end to the ſeſſion as ſoon as I ſee the members ſhew any ill will.

"It is your part to explain to the King your maſter what I ſay to you, that he may have no cauſe to complain of my having taken ſo haſtily ſo important a reſolution, without conſulting him, as I ought to do, and will do in every thing: But I ſhould have hurt my affairs extremely, if I had deferred it only eight days; for I ſhould have continued deprived of revenues which I now preſerve, and the leaſt oppoſition on the part of thoſe who refuſed to pay the duties, would have engaged me in levying them by force; inſtead of which, I ſhall pretend now that I have the law on my ſide, and it will be very eaſy for me to reduce thoſe who would oppoſe what I do."

To

To this the King of England added all kinds of proteſtations of gratitude and attachment to your Majeſty. He told me, That without your ſupport and protection, he could undertake nothing of what he deſigned in favour of the catholics: That he knew well enough he ſhould never be in ſafety, till a liberty of conſcience was eſtabliſhed firmly in their favour in England: That it was to this he was wholly to apply himſelf as ſoon as he ſaw a poſſibility: That I had ſeen with what facility he had been acknowledged and proclaimed King; and that the reſt would come about in the ſame manner, by his conducting himſelf with firmneſs and wiſdom.

I told his Britannic Majeſty, I would not take upon me to make an anſwer upon the ſpot to what he had done me the honour to ſay to me: That I could never doubt the ſincerity of his ſentiments with regard to your Majeſty, and believed him too wiſe and too able to do any thing which might alter an union founded on ſo much experience and reaſon: That I would give your Majeſty an account of what he had ſaid, and when I had thought upon it, would tell him my ſentiments freely, which ought to be of no weight till I ſpoke to him on your Majeſty's part: That I could, however, tell him of myſelf, without thinking more of it, that your Majeſty is in ſuch a ſituation as to have nothing to deſire for the augmentation of your power and grandeur: That you had put limits to your conqueſts at a time when you might eaſily have augmented them: That your friendſhip for the deceaſed King of England, and for him to whom I had the honour to ſpeak, had engaged you to ſupport their intereſts, and thoſe of monarchy in this country: That God had bleſſed your Majeſty's deſigns every where; and I was aſſured you would feel a ſenſible joy at his elevation to the government of three kingdoms: That I doubted not but his conduct would always be conform-

able to what he owed to his reputation, and to his real intereſts, which were to preſerve your Majeſty's friendſhip; and that it was juſt he ſhould act with regard to the interior affairs of his kingdom at he ſhould judge proper himſelf. I did not think myſelf, Sire, obliged to diſpute without mature deliberation a reſolution already taken, and which my arguments would not have altered. I even eſteemed it for your Majeſty's dignity, that I ſhould not appear intimidated by a meeting of parliament on account of your Majeſty's intereſts alone, when the King of England ſhewed ſo little apprehenſion of his own.

Lord Rocheſter came to me this morning from his Britannic Majeſty, to explain more at large his motives for calling a parliament: He added to what the King of England had ſaid, that if he had not prevented the requeſts which would have been made to him, the Keeper of the Great Seal and the Marquis of Halifax would not have failed to preſs him to aſſemble a parliament; that the preſent advantage he means to draw from this declaration is, to put himſelf in poſſeſſion of the revenue which the late King had, as well as of his crown; that it would have been chargeable to your Majeſty, if he had been obliged to aſk of you ſuch conſiderable ſupplies as thoſe he would have had occaſion for; that what he does, does not however exempt him from having recourſe to your Majeſty; and he hoped, that in the beginning of his reign, your Majeſty would help him to ſupport the weight of it; and that this freſh obligation, joined to many others, would engage him ſtill more not to depart from the road which he uſed to think the deceaſed King his brother ſhould have kept with regard to your Majeſty: That this will be the means to make him independent of Parliament, and to put him in a condition of ſupporting himſelf without parliament, if they ſhould refuſe him the continuation of the revenues which the deceaſed King enjoyed.

Lord

Lord Rocheſter omitted none of the arguments which he thought would convince me that your Majeſty hazarded nothing in ſupporting the King of England at preſent with a conſiderable ſum of money; that it is ſupporting the work of this Prince, and putting it out of his power ever to ſwerve from it; that as for himſelf, he had not changed his ſentiments, and his opinion was, that the King his maſter could not ſupport himſelf without your Majeſty's aid and ſupplies; that it would leave him to the mercy of his people, and in a condition of being ruined, if your Majeſty did not give him new marks of your friendſhip in ſo deciſive a conjuncture; and that from this beginning depended all his maſter's good fortune."

Such were the views of James. Louis, on his part again, prepared to make the ſame uſe of that Prince which he had made of his brother, and by the ſame means: For, without waiting for James's hints for money mentioned in this letter of the 19th of February, he had, as ſoon as he heard of the death of Charles, ordered money to be remitted to Barillon for the ſervice of King James. What effect that produced in the court of England will be ſeen in the following diſpatch,

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Monſieur Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Louis ſends James 500,000 *livres.—James receives it with tears in his eyes.—The joy of Sunderland, Rocheſter, and Godolphin.—Churchill ſent to France to aſk more money.*

February 26, 1685.

"I RECEIVED the day before yeſterday your Majeſty's diſpatch of the 20th of this month by the return of the courier I ſent. I went that inſtant to wait on the King of

of England. I gave him the letter of your Majeſty's hand, which he was ſo good as to make me read. He ſeemed to receive your Majeſty's teſtimonies of friendſhip with the greateſt ſenſibility. I thought I could not delay informing him of your Majeſty's care in getting, in ſo ſhort a time, bills of exchange for the ſum of five hundred thouſand livres, and ſending them to me, in order to my making ſuch uſe of them as ſhould be moſt conducive to his ſervice. This Prince was extremely ſurpriſed, and ſaid with tears in his eyes, "It is the part of the King your maſter alone, to act in a manner ſo noble and ſo full of goodneſs to me. I own to you that I feel more ſenſibly what he has done in this, than any thing that may happen to me in the courſe of my life; for I plainly ſee the bottom of his heart, and how deſirous he is that my affairs may proſper. He has even outrun what I could poſſibly wiſh, and has prevented my wants. I can never enough acknowledge ſuch a proceeding. Inform him of my gratitude, and be my pledge for the attachment I ſhall for ever have to him."

I cannot, Sire, expreſs what joy this Prince had to ſee ſo ſpeedy and ſo ſolid a proof of your Majeſty's friendſhip, and the readineſs with which you had ſent ſo conſiderable a ſum. I told him, that, not to detract from what he owed to your Majeſty, I would frankly own to him, that in the trouble I was in at the time of the deceaſed King of England's death, I had thought of nothing further than diſpatching a courier to inform your Majeſty of it; and that I had not repreſented how much it imported to ſend him a ſpeedy ſupply; and if in this I had been guilty of a neglect, it was well repaired by what your Majeſty had done. The King of England interrupted me, and ſaid, he could not ſufficiently admire your Majeſty's foreſight and care in giving him ſpeedily ſuch an eſſential mark of your friendſhip; that your Majeſty ſhould not be deceived,

and that he would remember what you had done to fix the crown upon his head.

As ſoon as I was gone, he ſhut himſelf up with the Lords Rocheſter, Sunderland, and Godolphin, and informed them of what I had told him on the part of your Majeſty, in terms which added ſtill to thoſe which he had uſed to me. They came to me one after the other, to whiſper in my ear, that I had given life to the King their maſter; and that though he had aſſured himſelf of your Majeſty's friendſhip, this laſt proof of it, given ſo apropos, obliged him beyond all that could be believed.

I expected that what your Majeſty has done would produce a good effect, but could not believe I ſhould receive ſo many teſtimonies of gratitude; and I ſee by it that people were willing to have created a fear in the King of England that your Majeſty would not make any great efforts to ſupport him. I ſay this, however, of myſelf; for I have ſeen, from all the diſcourſes of his Britannic Majeſty, a great confidence in your Majeſty's friendſhip.

I muſt give your Majeſty an account of what paſſed in the evening. I had a conference with the three miniſters: Lord Rocheſter, as preſident of the council, explained to me in few words what they had in charge from the King their maſter to ſay to me, which ended in repreſenting the neceſſity of his affairs, and how much it imported him to receive ſupplies in the beginning of his reign.

Lord Rocheſter then entered into the diſcuſſion of the treaty made with the deceaſed King of England. We agreed on every thing, even as to what remained for the complete payment of the three laſt years ſubſidy. Lord Rocheſter ſaid, there had always been a difference between him and me in accounting, becauſe he always expected and believed that your Majeſty would give two millions a year during three years; that it was true I had always

always ſaid on my ſide, that I had never had a power to promiſe more than fifteen hundred thouſand livres for each of the two laſt years; that this difficulty had not been ended; and that they had not even ſpoken of the fourth year, which was now almoſt elapſed, becauſe they did not foreſee that your Majeſty would have diſcontinued the deceaſed King of England's ſubſidy, whoſe conduct upon the whole was ſo agreeable to your Majeſty, and been ſo uniform on all occaſions. To this I anſwered, that I could not take upon me to diſpute any thing on matters of fact, unleſs they were quite plain; that I could not exceed my powers, and had not done it, ſo that we could only keep to what was agreed on; and that I ſhould not fail to repreſent to your Majeſty all that they had ſaid, to the end you might judge what was convenient for your ſervice, and the advantage of the King of England's affairs.

Lord Rocheſter finiſhed by ſaying, The ambaſſador and I never had a conteſt; for, as what the King his maſter gave was a gratification without conditions, I had no right to diſpute upon the *more* or *leſs*: I believe, however, that what we did together has been for the ſervice of the two Kings, and that neither the one nor the other has been the worſe for it. He added, it was his opinion ſtill to treat in the ſame manner, and to eſtabliſh a confidence and union ſimilar to that which had already ſucceeded ſo well. I agreed in what he advanced; and added, that though the deceaſed King of England was not formally obliged to renounce his treaty with Spain, he had nevertheleſs preſerved that conduct with regard to it which could have been expected; that the preſent King was ſtill more free from the treaty with Spain, and not in any ſhape obliged to a treaty, from the execution of which even the King his brother thought himſelf ſufficiently diſpenſed. The three miniſters agreed to what I ſaid, and

and told me that the King their maſter held himſelf entirely diſengaged from the obligation, however light it was, which the deceaſed King had entered into.

I promiſed to write effectually to your Majeſty to favour the demand Lord Churchill is to make of a preſent and conſiderable ſupply. We had yeſterday another conference by his Britannic Majeſty's orders, but there was nothing more ſaid on what was treated of in the preceding one; the miniſters ſtrove one after another to make me underſtand that they did not think it their duty to capitulate, or diſcuſs the intereſts of the King their maſter with me; that your Majeſty had put it out of their power to ſay any thing; and that a proceeding ſo frank and ſo generous on your part, had obliged the King their maſter to give them orders to aſſure me of his gratitude, and to beg me to repreſent it to your Majeſty ſuch as he feels it; that Lord Churchill had no other charge than to thank your Majeſty; and for any thing further, they appealed to what I knew of the ſtate of affairs to induce your Majeſty to do what you ſhall pleaſe, judging that they ought not to aſk any thing from a Prince who had prevented what they might have expected from him.

The King of England ſpoke to me ſeveral times yeſterday, and ſaid, that he is penetrated with gratitude, and that he believes he has nothing to fear, being aſſured as he is of your Majeſty's friendſhip. I have perhaps too much enlarged upon all this; but it appeared neceſſary that your Majeſty ſhould know how much his Britannic Majeſty and his miniſters have been ſenſible of what you have done. I have not yet given any money. It will be ſome days before the bills of exchange become due, the payment of which they would not have me preſs too much, leſt a ſuſpicion ſhould ariſe upon Change of what is paſſing; ſo that I may ſtill receive your Majeſty's orders again before I can make any conſiderable payment; it does not

even appear that they have any uneaſineſs here about the money. They confide ſo much in your Majeſty, that they believe the money as ſafe with me as at Whitehall. I may be deceived; but I do not think your Majeſty could have done any thing of greater uſe to you for the future, than having prevented what they might have deſired on ſo important an occaſion.

His Britannic Majeſty ſaid again to me yeſterday in the evening, I don't regard the ſtate in which I am at preſent, but the ſtate in which I may be. All is peaceable in England and Scotland; but the King your maſter helped me at a time when it could not be known if there might not be a ſedition in London, and whether I ſhould not be driven out of it."

Upon the death of King Charles, the Prince of Orange endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation between King James and himſelf, and for this purpoſe ſent over Monſieur Overkerque from Holland, and wrote himſelf to the King's miniſter the Lord High Treaſurer Rocheſter to intreat his good offices. James received his advances with the ſame inſincerity with which he ſuſpected they were made.

Barillon writes on the 26th of February 1684-5, that it having been ſaid the Prince of Orange was to wait upon the King to vindicate himſelf, the King told Barillon that he would receive the viſit, if the Prince aſked leave to make it. Barillon adds, "There enters into the matter a little pleaſure, which his Britannic Majeſty will take to ſee the Prince reduced to ſubmiſſion."

On the 1ſt March 1684-5, Barillon writes, that James, on making an apology to him for having written to the Prince of Orange upon the death of King Charles, uſed theſe words: "That he had written him two lines with

with his hand, merely to inform him of the news, without adding any other teſtimony either of friendſhip or good will." The letter of notification is in King William's box, and confirm's Barillon's relation. It is in the following words:

James the IId, to the Prince of Orange.—Notifies the death of King Charles.

Whitehall, February 6, 1685.

"I HAVE only time to tell you, that it has pleaſed God Almighty to take out of this world the King my brother. You will from others have an account of what diſtemper he died of; and that all the uſual ceremonies were performed this day in proclaiming me King in the city, and other parts. I muſt end, which I do, with aſſuring you, you ſhall find me as kind as you can expect."

On the 8th of March 1685, Barillon writes to his court, that James told him he was obliged to preſerve appearances with the Prince of Orange, in order to prevent the popular party from finding a head, and to make them believe the Prince and he were united; but that the King added, he knew the Prince too well to be deceived by him.

The following diſpatch gives a particular account of what paſſed between King James and Monſieur Overkirk, when the Prince ſent him to England.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth. – James refuſes to receive the ſubmiſſions of the Prince of Orange, unleſs he ſhall connect himſelf with France.

March 1, 1685.

"I AM juſt come from Whitehall. The King of England took me this evening into his cloſet, and told me that Mr. Overkerque had aſked a private audience of him a little before ſupper; that, having admitted him, he ſaid, that the Prince of Orange not only repented of his conduct to the deceaſed King of England, but ſincerely acknowledged the faults he had committed towards his Britannic Majeſty now reigning; that he would do all in his power to make reparation, and to merit his good graces, by an entire ſubmiſſion to his will, and a ſincere attachment to his intereſts; and would follow punctually what ſhould be preſcribed to him. The King of England told me his anſwer was, that it would always give him pleaſure to ſee the Prince of Orange in his duty, and ſhew a true repentance of what was paſt; but he could not admit his ſubmiſſions, nor believe the proteſtations made on his part to be ſincere, if his ſubmiſſion was not complete, and without exception; that the deceaſed King of England and himſelf had maintained an union with your Majeſty, which the Prince of Orange had always oppoſed; and if he inclined to change his ſentiments with regard to the home affairs of England, he muſt alſo do it with regard to your Majeſty, and obſerve a different conduct from that which he had held for a long time paſt with regard to you; that this firſt ſtep was abſolutely neceſſary in order to his being able to give any credit

credit to what might be ſaid on the Prince of Orange's part."

Barillon writes to his court on the 5th and 19th of March 1685, that James had deſired of Overkirk that the Prince ſhould remove the Duke of Monmouth from Holland, and his adherents from the Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice, and had renewed his application for the Prince's attaching himſelf to France; that the Prince had conſented to the two firſt articles, but had avoided giving an anſwer upon the laſt. Part of this relation is alſo confirmed by the following letters from the King to the Prince, in King William's cabinet.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is pleaſed with the conceſſions which the Prince has made.

Whitehall, March 6, 1685.

"I AM fully ſatisfied, and ſhall rely upon the aſſurance you gave me in your letter, and what Overkirk ſaid to me from you, which has had all the effect with me you can deſire. It is now very late, and I have had ſo much buſineſs all this day, till now, that I have not time to ſay all I intended: And as to the propoſing ſome officers to you in the place of thoſe you have turned out, by the next I ſhall recommend ſome to you, and ſhall ſoon diſpatch Skelton into Holland to you, in the room of Mr. Chudleigh; and you may be ſure, that ſo long as you keep thoſe meaſures with me which you profeſs, of which I make no doubt, you ſhall find me as kind to you as you can deſire."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

Whitehall, March 16, 1685.

"I WOULD not let this bearer, Monſ. Overkerke, return back to you, without writing to you by him, and aſſuring you at the ſame time, that it ſhall not be my fault if we do not continue upon very good terms. He can give you ſo true an account of all things here, I having informed him the beſt I can of affairs here."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

Whitehall, March 17, 1685.

"WHAT you have written to me lately, and the aſſurances you have given by Monſ. Overkerk, have ſo fully ſatisfied me, that I have ordered this bearer, Mr. Skelton (whom I ſend to ſucceed Mr. Chudleigh), to aſſure it you from me, and hope, for the time to come, the ſame confidence will be eſtabliſhed between us, as our near relation and the good of our family requires. What elſe I have to ſay, I refer to him, to whom you may give entire belief, and have charged him alſo to let you know what meaſures I intend to take as to affairs abroad, that there may be no miſtakes."

In King William's cabinet there are the two following anſwers from Lord Rocheſter to the letters which the Prince of Orange had written him concerning his deſire to be reconciled to the King. The firſt is without date, but muſt have been written before the other, becauſe he receives the Prince's advances with a diſtance, as to particulars, which perhaps was decent in the prime miniſter of

of another Prince. The other enforces the King's desire of having Monmouth removed from Holland.

Translation.

Earl of Rochester to the Prince of Orange, written soon after the death of Charles.—In answer to one asking his good offices with King James.—General assurances of zeal for his service.

"IT is with much joy that I have received marks of your Highness's remembrance; and it is with all the submission imaginable that I give you most humble thanks for the honour which you have done me of honouring me with your commands, and for all the goodness which you shew to me in your letter. I can assure your Highness, that you will not deceive yourself in doing me the honour to believe, that I will never fail in my duty in every thing that will be for your service; all my wishes tending to nothing more in this world, than to see your Highness as well in the favour of the King as is proper for a person so strictly united to his Majesty by birth and by alliance, to which I hope I see such great approaches within this little time, that I cannot doubt of a good and happy success. And I think I ought not to conceal from your Highness, that you have in your own hands every thing you can ask. Be not deceived in believing that you can have need of my services, or that my poor cares can be useful in a work of so great importance. Permit me to say, that your Highness ought not to have need of, and consequently cannot wish to have a mediator between you and the King, and that the strong inclination which your Highness shews to do what the King expects of you, and the goodness which his Majesty has always had with regard to you, cannot fail to fill you with joy and contentment;

tentment; in which nobody in the world will have a greater ſhare than he who, with all ſort of ſubmiſſion, aſks the honour of your good graces, and who will be all his life one of your moſt obedient and zealous ſervants."

N° II.

Letters concerning Monmouth's Rebellion.

Lord Rocheſter to the Prince of Orange.—Adviſes him to remove the Duke of Monmouth from Holland.

"I GIVE your Highneſs moſt humble thanks for the favourable expreſſions you are pleaſed to uſe towards me, in two letters of the 10th and 13th inſtant, that your Highneſs hath lately honoured me with; and ſince you are pleaſed to encourage me in the freedom with which I ſpoke to Monſ. d'Overkirke, and writ to your Highneſs, I think it agreeable to your mind, as well as to your ſervice, that I ſhould continue it; and therefore I beg leave to ſay this to you, as a thing that I cannot but think the King would take well of you, though I have not his orders to ſay ſo much; and it is in relation to the Duke of Monmouth, who is ſaid to be always very near the Hague, if not in it: Upon which I would offer you this in ſhort, that as it cannot be for your Highneſs's ſervice that it ſhould be imagined he is there with your privity, ſo it may be preſumed, that conſidering the authority your Highneſs hath, and the good intelligence you cannot be ſuppoſed to want, that he can be there, and your Highneſs not know it. I hope your Highneſs will not be offended with me for ſtating the matter in this manner, which I may do the better, becauſe I do not ſuſpect your Highneſs is privy to his being there; but

then, methinks, your Highneſs might let every body ſee, that if you knew he were ſo near you, it would be very diſagreeable to you; the conſequence of which would be, that he could not ſtay long there. I do not believe the King hath the intention of driving him from country to country, and to make all places uneaſy to him; but, on the other hand, it is not at all neceſſary, nor in truth decent, conſidering the circumſtances he hath put himſelf in, that he ſhould be hovering juſt over againſt England, and as it were always in a readineſs to tranſport himſelf. Your Highneſs may be pleaſed to make the beſt uſe you think fit of this humble advice that I preſume to offer you; it is only for yourſelf I mention it, and I am the rather induced to it by your own commands to me, to advertiſe your Highneſs of any thing that I think you might do that would be agreeable to the King, and by an expreſſion in your own letter to me, that you do not love to do things by halves; and ſo I leave it to your Highneſs's judgment with all the ſubmiſſion that I owe.

Whitehall, April the 14th, 1685."

Theſe letters from James and Lord Rocheſter to the Prince of Orange, were ſoon followed by the King's recalling the Prince's favourite Mr. Sidney (afterwards Earl of Romney) from Holland, where he commanded the Britiſh troops in the Dutch ſervice, and had been envoy from England; and by the appointment of Mr. Skelton to be envoy there. It appears from Barillon's letter to his court 29th March 1685, that Skelton had orders from James to act in concert with d'Avaux, the French ambaſſador at the Hague, and from others of Barillon's letters, that Skelton was always ready to irritate James againſt the Prince of Orange. The Prince therefore remonſtrated againſt both meaſures, but afterwards ſubmitted. A copy of his letter to King James on this ſubject is in his box, as follows.

Tranſlation.

Prince of Orange to James the Second.—Remonſtrates againſt recalling Sidney, and ſending Skelton as envoy to Holland.

Fortlaerdyke, June 25th, 1685.

"I WOULD not have failed to have anſwered the letter which your Majeſty did me the honour to write me by laſt poſt, if Mr. Sydney had not been going away. I cannot diſſemble with your Majeſty that I could have wiſhed your Majeſty had thought proper to have left him here; ſince I can aſſure you that there never was a miniſter in this country who ſucceeded better, or who did you more faithful ſervices: it is alſo impoſſible that any perſon can be more zealous for your ſervice, for which I can anſwer. And theſe are the reaſons which made me and all the honeſt people of this country regret him, and which have obliged me to give him the regiment of the deceaſed Earl of Oſſory, and the command in chief of your Majeſty's ſubjects in this ſervice, the States not having thought proper, in this time of peace, to diſpoſe of the charge of General, of which Mr. Sidney will inform your Majeſty more particularly, and of what has paſſed here upon that affair. I doubt not your Majeſty will approve of the choice I have made, ſince aſſuredly I could not have found a perſon who would have been more faithful to your intereſts, for which I will remain his pledge. I intreat your Majeſty not to take it amiſs, that I repreſent to you anew the hurt you will do your intereſt in this country, if you ſend Mr. Skelton to it. I have nothing to ſay againſt his perſon, and am even inclined to believe they did him wrong in what he was accuſed of; but it is a thing that never can be removed from the imaginations of

of people here; and I have beſides other reaſons, upon which I explained myſelf at large in a letter which I wrote laſt poſt to my Lord Hyde, which without doubt he will have communicated to your Majeſty; ſo that I hope you will not mortify me ſo far as to ſend any one here with whom I cannot live in good intelligence. That, however, will not prevent me from endeavouring to ſerve your Majeſty with the ſame ardour and application which I have always done, and nothing can happen which can make me change the fixed inclination and attachment which I have for your intereſts; and I ſhould be the moſt unhappy man in the world if you was not perſuaded of it, and ſhould not have the goodneſs to continue me a little in your good graces, ſince I ſhall be, to the laſt breath of my life, with more zeal and fidelity than any one can be, your Majeſty's, &c."

The following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange during the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, are in King William's cabinet.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Warns him of Monmouth's intention to rebel.

St. James's, April 28, 1685.

"I RECEIVED your's of the 30th, by the laſt poſt, but had not time to let you know it on Friday laſt; and by letters, which came over by the ſame pacquet, have it confirmed to me, that ſome of the fugitive rebels, which have lurked long in Holland, have had a meeting with the Duke of Monmouth there very privately, and have ſome deſign in hand on Scotland, or elſewhere, and that they have bought arms, and are ſending them by the way of

Amſterdam, for the Weſt Highlands of Scotland, with an intention of making a raiſing there; but of this Skelton will give you a further account; and this day I ſpake to the ambaſſadors here about the rebels and fugitives that are there, that they my be ſent away out of the country, according to what is ſtipulated in the treaty, which, I hope, you will get done, it being very neceſſary to have thoſe turbulent traitors driven out of Holland."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——On the ſame ſubject.

St. James's, May 5, 1685.

"I HOPE that the ſhips which were to have ſailed from the Texel, with cannon, arms, and ammunition for Scotland have been ſtopped by your's, or the States orders, before they got out, or that ſome veſſels I have ſent that way may have met them; you ſee how buſy and reſtleſs that rebellious party are. I hear that Lord Argyle is already gone for Scotland, and that the Duke of Monmouth has deſigned to go either after him, or come over hither into England, in a ſhort time, to make, if he can, ſome diſturbance; but I am preparing for him and the other in both kingdoms. I have reaſon to believe that the Duke of Monmouth is ſtill in Holland, either at Rotterdam or Amſterdam."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Vexed that Argyle's ſhips have eſcaped.

May 12, 1685.

"ON Saturday laſt I had yours of the 15th, by which I ſee the orders were given for ſending thoſe fugitives out of your country, and I make no doubt but that you will do your part to have it well put in execution, you ſeeing how neceſſary it is it ſhould be done. I ſee by the ſame

ſame letters, how vexed you are, that the three ſhips, laden with arms and ammunition, from Amſterdam, got out to ſea, notwithſtanding the orders you had given to ſtop them. I hope you will do your part that no more follow them, and that you will endeavour to know whether the Duke of Monmouth be gone with them, or remains ſtill in Holland, as it is reported."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——On the ſame ſubject.

Whitehall, May 19, 1685.

"I HAVE now two of yours to anſwer, one of the 22d, the other of the 25th, and do eaſily believe if you had been at the Hague, the Lord Argyle, with his three ſhips, had not got out; and ſee, by the ſame letter, that what I had deſired of the States, concerning my fugitive ſubjects, was ordered, which I take as kindly as can be deſired, and as you ſay, I am ſure you will look to its being well executed. Lord Treaſurer ſhewed me the paper you mentioned in yours of the 25th: I believe the intelligence is true, and the rather, becauſe yeſterday I had letters from Scotland that gave me an account of Lord Argyle's having been at the Iſle of Orkney, in his way towards the Weſt of Scotland, or North of Ireland: He ſailed from thoſe iſles the 8th, old ſtile, ſo that I expect every day to hear of his being landed. I have reaſon to believe the phanatick party have a deſign to riſe if they can in ſome part of England, and that the Duke of Monmouth is already privately here; I am taking the beſt care I can to prevent it; and now you ſee how little truſt is to be given to what the Duke of Monmouth ſays."

James

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Desires three Scotch regiments to be sent to Scotland.

Whitehall, May 22, 1685.

"YOU will hear from others how well the parliament have behaved themselves this day, after I spoke to them, so that I need not repeat it. This morning I had letters from Scotland, which gave me an account that Argyle was landed at a place called Dunstafnage, in the shire of Lorne, in the West Highlands, where, with the help of the arms he carried with him, and the interest he had heretofore in that part of the country, I believe he will get a good number of disaffected men together; and though I make no doubt, by God's help, that the rebels will soon be mastered, yet there is no harm of providing for the worst, and therefore I have charged Mr. Skelton to propose to you, the lending me the three Scotch regiments that are in your service, to be sent over into Scotland; and if this is a thing you can do, the sooner it is done, the more reason I shall have to take it very kindly of you."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Refuses to accept the Prince's offer to go to Scotland with the Scotch regiments.

Whitehall, June 2, 1685.

"LAST night I had yours of the 5th, by which I see you had received mine, in which I desired you to lend me the three Scots regiments to be sent to Scotland, and was the next to propose it to the States, which, I hope, by the next, to hear they have agreed to; for though I have reason to believe that the rebels there will be in time reduced, yet such a body of old good men as those three regiments are, will help very much towards it. I take very kindly of you what you offer concerning yourself; but besides that you cannot be spared from where

where you are, this rebellion of Argyle is not conſiderable enough for you to be troubled with it; however, I am as much obliged to you, as if I had accepted of the offer you made me as to yourſelf."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Deſires the three Engliſh regiments to be ſent over, becauſe Monmouth is advancing."

Whitehall, June 17, 1685.

"WHEN I wrote to you yeſterday I thought the militia would have kept the Duke of Monmouth ſhut up within Lyme, but by the fault of thoſe of Devonſhire or Somerſetſhire, he has opened his way towards Taunton, which is a very factious town, and where he may increaſe his numbers; and though with thoſe troops I have raiſed, and am raiſing, I make no doubt of maſtering him in ſome ſmall time, yet to make all ſure, I deſire you to lend me the three Engliſh regiments that are in your ſervice, and they may be ſent over with all poſſible ſpeed."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Declines accepting the Prince's offer to come over to England.

London, June 30, 1685.

"TWO days ſince I had yours by Monſieur Bentinke, who has given me a full account of all you had charged him with, and I take very kindly from you all the offers you made me by him, and I make no doubt, but by God's help, your ſending me the three regiments I deſired of you (the three Scotch being arrived this day at Graveſend), to put a ſpeedy end to this rebellion. As to your coming over, which he told me you were ready to do, if there were any neceſſity of it, I do not at all think it proper at this time for our common intereſt, it being as neceſſary for you to ſtay in Holland at this conjuncture, to keep all things well there, as it is for me to ſtay here in London. I have diſcourſed at large with M. Bentink

upon this ſubject, who will alſo give you an account of it. However, I take it as kindly from you as if you had come, and am as ſenſible as you can deſire, of what you have already done."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Much pleaſed with the regiments ſent by the Prince.——Monmouth retreats.

Whitehall, July 3, 1685.

"I Received on Wedneſday yours of the 6th, by which I ſee the Engliſh regiments were to be embarked by the beginning of this week, and muſt again thank you for them, and if they be but as good as the Scotch regiments, which I ſaw this morning, I ſhall be doubly pleaſed; for as to theſe I have ſeen, there cannot be, I am ſure, better men than they are, and they do truly look like old regiments, and one cannot be better pleaſed with them than I am, and muſt again thank you for them."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Monmouth defeated.

Whitehall, July 7, 1685.

"I AM ſure it will pleaſe you very well to hear that it has pleaſed God to give my troops good ſucceſs againſt the rebels here in England, as well as in Scotland. The Duke of Monmouth was got with all his troops to Bridgwater, and had ſummoned all the country to come in to him to fortify it; upon which Lord Feverſham marched on Sunday laſt from Sommerton to a village called Weſton, which is within ſome two or three miles of Bridgwater, near which he camped, with what he had of my old troups, which conſiſted of about two thouſand foot, in ſix battalions, and ſome ſeven hundred horſe and dragoons, and eighteen ſmall field pieces: the Earl of Pembrok with ſome horſe and foot, of the militia were quartered

quartered in a village behind him, having not tents to camp with. On Sunday night the Duke of Monmouth came out of Bridgwater over the bridge, with all his troops, himſelf at the head of the foot, and Lord Grey commanded his horſe, and came on with that great order and ſilence, that our parties which were out to ſee if he marched, did not hear them, and drew in battle upon the plain, and advanced ſtreight on to our camp, hoping to ſurpriſe them, and about two in the morning engaged our foot with great vigour, and were as well received; they had but three pieces of cannon with them, which they brought up, within piſtol-ſhot of our foot. Our horſe in the mean time drew up on the right hand of our foot, the left being ſo covered that they could not be taken by the flank, and charged the rebels horſe, which conſiſted of fifteen troops, and beat them, at the firſt charge, but did not purſue them far, but fell back into the rear of the rebels foot, which made great reſiſtance, but at laſt were all cut to pieces, their cannon and two and twenty colours taken."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—His interviews with Monmouth and Lord Grey.

Whitehall, July 14, 1685.

"I HAVE had yours of the 17th, and now the Duke of Monmouth is brought up hither with Lord Grey and the Brandenburgher. The two firſt deſired very earneſtly to ſpeak with me, as having things of importance to ſay to me, which they did, but did not anſwer my expectation, in what they ſaid to me: the Duke of Monmouth ſeemed more concerned and deſirous to live, and did behave himſelf not ſo well as I expected, nor ſo as one ought to have expected, from one who had taken upon him to be King. I have ſigned the warrant for his

execution to-morrow. For Lord Grey, he appeared more reſolute and ingenious, and never ſo much as once aſked for his life: his execution cannot be ſo ſoon, by reaſon of ſome forms which are requiſite to be complyed with."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Monmouth's execution.

Whitehall, July 17, 1685.

"I FIND by yours of the 21ſt, that you had heard of the defeat of the rebels, and before this you will have been informed of the Duke of Monmouth having been taken and brought hither. He was very ſolicitous to have gained more time, and did many things towards it, not very decent for one, who had taken on him the title of King. He was beheaded on Wedneſday on Tower-hill. He died reſolutely, and a downright enthuſiaſt."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Rejoices that the rebellion is ended.

Whitehall, July 19, 1685.

"THE kind meſſage you ſent to the King by Mr. Bentinck, and your good wiſhes, I believe brought us good luck, for God be thanked here is an end of all troubles, and in ſuch a manner as that we may hope never to ſee the like again as long as we live. I have deſired this bearer to give you a thouſand thanks for all the marks you give me of your friendſhip, both by him, and in your letter. I am extremely pleaſed with it, and deſire nothing more than the continuance of it, of which I will not doubt, being reſolved to ſhow myſelf upon all occaſions, truly and ſincerely yours."

Notwithſtanding theſe ſmooth letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, Barillon writes to his court 21ſt of May 1685, that the King complained to him that the Prince of Orange had permitted Lord Argyle to ſail. On the 7th of May he writes, that the King ſaid he was to keep on fair terms with the Prince only till the ſeſſion of parliament ſhould be over; and at an after-period near the time of the revolution he writes, that the King told him, it was very lucky there had been no occaſion for trying the fidelity of the regiments which the Prince of Orange had ſent over in the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion; for that moſt of the officers were diſaffected.

Lord Dartmouth's manuſcript note on page 631, vol. 1. of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, is in theſe words: "Fletcher told me he had good grounds to ſuſpect, that "the Prince underhand encouraged the expedition with "deſign to ruin the Duke of Monmouth." The authority is high. Fletcher was in a ſituation to know, and he was incapable of lying.

The effect of the King's ſuſpicion ſoon appeared in his inſiſting to appoint the commander of the ſix Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice, in the place of Mr. Sydney, whom he had recalled. At firſt he propoſed that Lord Pembroke ſhould have the command. The Prince conſented; but the appointment did not take place. Afterwards the King recommended Lord Carlingford, a Roman Catholic. But the Prince poſitively refuſed his conſent, and the King yielded in his turn.

The correſpondence on this ſubject is in King William's Cabinet as follows:

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Preſſes for Lord Pembroke's command.—Is to make a camp at Hounſlow.

Whitehall, Auguſt 10, 1685.

"AS to what concerns Lord Pembroke's affairs which I recommended to you ſo earneſtly, I hope that if you preſs the States to it, they will agree to it, eſpecially when you may tell them no penſion will be deſired, now in time of peace; and for a regiment, that as I keep Cannon here, he Lord Pembroke may have it. 'Tis true he has ſeen no ſervice, he is a ſtout, ingenious, and induſtrious man, and one on whom I can entirely rely, and ſo will be ſure to propoſe none, nor recommend any to you, but ſuch as are truly loyal, which is of great conſequence to me; for as they are yet compoſed, there are ſome officers, and many ſoldiers, were better out than in thoſe regiments; and beſides that, he has really ſerved me eminently well in this laſt affair, againſt the Duke of Monmouth; all which conſiderations will I hope prevail with you, to do your part to get it done, and then ſure the States will not be againſt it. As for news, all things continue very quiet here, and are like to continue ſo, though the Republican and Preſbyterian party are as willing as ever to rebel, only want an opportunity. I ſhall have moſt of my new foot at Hounſlow by the next week, where I intend they ſhall all camp for ſome time."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Thanks for Lord Pembroke's affair.—Commends the appearance of the troops encamped at Hounſlow.

Windſor, Auguſt 25, 1685.

"I HAVE received yours of the 27th, by which I am very glad to find you do agree to what I propoſed to you concerning the Earl of Pembroke, and thank you very kindly for doing it, and ſhall ſend to advertiſe him of it, that he may make what haſte he can over to you, to thank you for your kindneſſes to him. As for the names of any of the magiſtrates of Amſterdam, when I can get any authentic proofs againſt them, I ſhall let you have it, which, I fear, will be hard to be got, though 'tis certain ſome of them knew of the Duke of Monmouth's deſign. On Saturday laſt I ſaw ſome of my troops at Hounſlow, they conſiſted of ten battalions of foot, of which three were of the guards, and the other ſeven new-raiſed regiments; of horſe there were twenty ſquadrons, and one of grenadiers on horſeback, and one of dragoons, and really the new troops of both ſorts were in very good order, and the horſes very well mounted: I was glad that the Mareſchal d'Humieres ſaw them, for ſeveral reaſons."

Tranſlation.

Prince of Orange to Monſ. Bentinck.—Refuſes to give the command of the Engliſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice to Lord Carlingford, recommended by the King.

"I AM under an extreme embarraſſment from the King's thinking proper to name the Earl of Carlingford to me for the command of the ſix regiments of his ſubjects who are in this ſervice, becauſe there is nothing

thing in the world I desire more than to give satisfaction to his Majesty in every thing that depends upon me. But as the Earl is a Catholic, and it would hurt me extremely in this country if I gave the command of these six regiments to a person of that religion; and as I was obliged, which no doubt you will remember, to represent the same thing to the deceased King with regard to the Earl of Dunbarton; and as his Majesty had the goodness upon that not to insist upon it any longer, I find myself forced to represent all this to the King, in hopes that his Majesty will have the same goodness, and that he will not wish me to do so great an injury to myself in this country, without bringing any advantage to him. I would have made this representation directly to the King, if I had not thought that it was more respectful to do it by your means. I entreat you to take the trouble of it, and that in whatever manner you think proper, and you will oblige extremely him who will be always entirely yours."

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—Presses him, from the King, to give the command of the British troops in the Dutch service to Lord Carlingford, a Papist.

"IN obedience to your Highness's commands, which I received by your letter of the 19th of this month, I have represented to the King what you directed me concerning my Lord Carlingford, and the prejudice it would be to your Highness if he commanded the King's subjects in Holland; upon which his Majesty has ordered me to assure your Highness that he will never desire any thing of you that can possibly be disadvantageous to you; and if my Lord Carlingford's being at the head of those troops could be so, he would never have writ to you about it, nor would continue to press it as he does. His Majesty not thinking it unreasonable for him to recommend a man

a man of quality and honour such a one as he likes to be over his subjects, and that his being a Catholic is no argument against it, since men of that religion have been so often employed in Holland in all places and at all times. That when my Lord Dunbarton was proposed by the late King, the noise of the plot and the clamour of the faction were at the height, which is the reason his late Majesty pressed it no further; but all that being over long ago, and his present Majesty employing Catholics where he finds they are fit, he cannot but desire that my Lord Carlingford may command those regiments, and thinks the alterations of times and persons ought to be considered. This his Majesty has directed me to write to your Highness, to which I have nothing to add, but that I am sure the King would be very well pleased if this might be done, and that he will take it extremely well of your Highness if you could comply with him in it. For my particular, I am very sorry that you should desire any service of me out of my power, being, with the greatest respect and submission possible, yours."

Windsor, August 24, 1686.

Translation.

Prince of Orange to Lord Sunderland.—Refuses positively to give the command of the British troops, in the Dutch service, to Lord Carlingford.

Dieren, September 12, 1686.

"THE day before I left the Hague, I received the letter which you took the trouble to write to me on $\frac{24 \text{ Aug.}}{4 \text{ Sept.}}$ upon my Lord Carlingford's affair. It would be not decent, and I have too much respect for his Majesty to enter further into reasonings on that matter; and therefore I have only to beg you will humbly intreat his

his Majeſty, on my part, to have the goodneſs not to inſiſt upon this affair, and I will take it as a great favour. I am ſorry to give you ſo much trouble, and I crave you not to take it amiſs, and to believe me always, &c."

N° III.

The King's intrigues with Louis for money, and his chagrin on refuſal.

IN the mean time, Lord Churchill not having ſucceeded at Paris in getting money for his maſter from the French court, King James and his miniſters renewed their attempts with Barillon. The following diſpatch relates the particulars. I print the whole of it, though long, becauſe I preſume the effect of it will be to make every Britiſh reader, even at this day, ſhudder, when he reflects what an eſcape from arbitrary power our anceſtors made at the Revolution.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James aſks a ſupply and ſubſidy from France.—His views.—Conferences with Godolphin, Rocheſter, and Sunderland, and their views.

March 26, 1685.

"WITHIN theſe few days I have had many conferences with the King of England and his miniſters, in which I have been much preſſed to repreſent to your Majeſty the ſtate of affairs in this country, and at the ſame time to aſk ſuch a ſupply of money as may put the King of England in a condition to ſupport himſelf, and not ſink under the efforts which it is expected

his enemies will make as ſoon as an occaſion offers. Lord Rocheſter, Lord Sunderland, and Lord Godolphin, came to me together, and explained the need the King of England had of a preſent ſupply, that is to ſay, of a conſiderable ſum of money, in order to enable him to conduct himſelf with a neceſſary firmneſs towards his parliament, and not to grant any of thoſe conditions prejudicial to his authority, which undoubtedly will be propoſed to him at granting the revenue which the deceaſed King enjoyed. They told me the reſolution was taken not to accept what the parliament would grant for a limited time, becauſe it would eſtabliſh a neceſſity of aſſembling a parliament, which would change the form of government, and render the King their maſter entirely dependent on that aſſembly: That rather than fall into this inconvenience, it would be better to have recourſe directly to violent remedies, diſſolve the parliament, and maintain himſelf by open force in the enjoyment of the revenues granted for life to the deceaſed King of England: That it ought not to be preſumed this can be done without oppoſition, and they ought to be in a condition of oppoſing inſtantly the firſt diſturbances which ſhall be raiſed: That they cannot prevent them by levying freſh troops before the ſitting of parliament, nor by bringing in a foreign force, which on the firſt diſſolution of the parliament would rather cauſe a general revolt in England, than ſerve to reduce the rebels: That thus the only remedy is, that his Britannic Majeſty be in a condition of making one grand effort, and of ſupporting himſelf with a ſum of money which would facilitate all his deſigns: On the contrary, if he muſt wait for the ſupply he ſtands in need of, the time will be gone before any advantages can be drawn from it, but which are undoubted, if the ſupply be immediate.

The three miniſters enlarged upon the glory your Majeſty would acquire by preſerving the crown, as yet but

tottering on their maſter's head, and omitted no reaſons which could induce your Majeſty to put him on a foot of owing the preſervation and happineſs of his reign to you. The concluſion was, they did not doubt but your Majeſty would henceforth grant the ſame ſubſidy to the King their maſter which you had given to the deceaſed King, and even not leſſen the two laſt years of the three, as had been done; that is to ſay, a ſubſidy of two millions per annum for three years: That beſides this ſubſidy, it is abſolutely neceſſary that your Majeſty ſend here before the meeting of parliament a fund of two millions, which will make, with what remains of the old ſubſidy, a ſum of three millions: That the ſtate of the King's affairs required no leſs a ſupply; and that your Majeſty, by ſhewing him a ſincere and effectual friendſhip, would do more by this preſent ſupply than by all that could be done hereafter.

I ſhewed my ſurprize at hearing the propoſal of ſo conſiderable a ſum, and of a regular ſubſidy beſides. I told them a leſſer demand would have been more proper in the beginning, ſince they might be aſſured that your Majeſty's aſſiſtance would not be wanting in time of need; and they had already ſeen, that your Majeſty had even prevented the demand that might have been made, as ſoon as you believed his Britannic Majeſty was in need: That moreover I did not think it neceſſary to regulate at preſent a ſubſidy before it was ſeen what would happen on the parliament's meeting, and without knowing if they were inclined to give the King of England the enjoyment of all the revenues during his life, in which caſe he would be in a condition to ſupport himſelf more eaſily, and maintain his authority. The reply to this was, that whatever might ariſe from parliament, it was not to be expected that the King their maſter would be able to ſubſiſt by himſelf in the manner he ought for his ſafety;

ſafety; that it would be neceſſary to make an augmentation of his troops, and put his ſhips in a good condition; that his reſolution was taken to remain always attached to your Majeſty, and therefore he was not afraid to aſk a ſubſidy for ſome years, well knowing that your Majeſty would at all times be contented with his conduct, and not repent putting it in his power to ſhew his gratitude.

The ſame day I had this conference, the King of England took me into his cloſet, and repeated to me what his miniſters had ſaid, adding every thing that could perſuade me of the moſt inviolable attachment to your Majeſty's intereſts. I told him I could not ſpeak to him on the part of your Majeſty upon what his miniſters had ſaid to me, not having foreſeen it; that I begged of him, in my own particular, to conſider what your Majeſty had already done to prevent his wants; that I thought this proof ſhould rather lead him to leave your Majeſty the choice of what you inclined to do, than to importune you for a large ſum as a thing of abſolute neceſſity; that the fixing of a ſubſidy appeared to me to be premature; and that an entire confidence in your Majeſty would not leſs engage you than a preciſe and formal demand; that I thought the manner in which your Majeſty had acted towards him ought alſo to induce him to take different methods than are ordinarily practiſed; and if I dared to adviſe him, I believed it would not be neceſſary, in the beginning, to do any thing more than to eſtabliſh a reciprocal confidence, and an entire correſpondence upon future emergencies.

The anſwer the King of England made was, that he would think upon what I had ſaid; that he would ſpeak to me again fully, and that I ſhould ſee Lord Rocheſter to agree with him on what would be moſt proper at preſent. I ſaw Lord Rocheſter, and endeavoured to perſuade him, that the demand of ſo conſiderable a

ſum, joined to that of a ſubſidy, would not have ſo good an effect with your Majeſty, as being contented with repreſenting the ſtate of affairs, and then referring to what your Majeſty may judge moſt fit to be done on your part; that it behoved him, in the beginning of his miniſtry, to eſtabliſh an entire confidence between your Majeſty and the King his maſter, and that nothing which could be refuſed ſhould be aſked; that if I did not know his good intentions from a long experience, I ſhould have believed that he had adviſed ſo great a demand with a view to throw your Majeſty into the inconvenience of refuſing the firſt thing his Britannic Majeſty had aſked of you; that he ought to believe I ſpoke from myſelf and without orders, not having been able to foreſee the affair in queſtion would be agitated; that I loved more to prevent difficulties which might ariſe, than to give greater hopes here than they ought to expect.

Lord Rocheſter ſaid, he believed it unneceſſary to ſpeak to me of his paſt conduct, ſince he and I had for four years managed alone, and without the participation of any other perſon, intereſts ſufficiently difficult to be reconciled; that I was a witneſs of his conduct as long as he had the confidence of the deceaſed King of England; that he hoped I would do him the juſtice to think I had never ſeen in him that incertainty and thoſe changes ſo frequent in the perſons who had preceded him in the management of affairs; that he did not pretend to be vain upon what had paſſed during the laſt four years; he believed the deceaſed King of England had acted very wiſely and very advantageouſly for his intereſts by uniting himſelf ſtrictly with your Majeſty; that your Majeſty on your ſide had found a facility in the execution of all your deſigns, to ſay no more of the advantages of your alliance with the deceaſed King; that whilſt the finances were in his hands, he let the payments of the ſubſidies be juſt as I pleaſed,

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and by this means a whole year had paſſed over without any mention being made of the continuation of this ſubſidy, although in this laſt year Luxembourg was taken, and the peace made in ſuch a manner as your Majeſty preſcribed to your enemies: that in all this he believed he had ſerved his maſter well, without having done any thing contrary to the intereſts of your Majeſty; that he therefore deſerved to have confidence placed in him at preſent, and what he adviſes ſhould not be miſinterpreted; that he does not mean to leſſen the opinion I may have of his own credit, but that I knew the King his maſter, and clearly ſaw he acted in every thing of himſelf, and nobody knows better than he does the ſtate of his own affairs; that his reſolution was taken to live inviolably attached to your Majeſty; that there will be neither change nor wavering in his conduct, and that your Majeſty might have a poſitive dependence upon him for the time to come; that with a preſent ſupply, and the promiſe of a ſubſidy, the King his maſter would be in a condition to repel the firſt efforts that can be made againſt him, and after being well eſtabliſhed at home, all his conduct will be directed abroad to preſerve a friendſhip and protection to which he will owe the preſervation and proſperity of his affairs; that as for himſelf, I was well enough acquainted with him to know that he did not believe it was for his maſter's dignity or true intereſts to haggle with your Majeſty, nor to aſk of you three millions to obtain two; that the neceſſity was preſſing, and for a long time there had not happened a conjuncture parallel to this; that your Majeſty enjoyed a glorious peace, after having given repoſe to Europe by a wiſdom more worthy of admiration than your conqueſts; that he ſincerely declared your Majeſty's conduct in every thing deſerved a profound veneration, and that nobody was more filled with it than himſelf; that he hoped your Majeſty would not diminiſh

diminiſh any thing of what was aſked of you on an occaſion where the King his maſter's all was at ſtake.

Since that, I have had a long conference with the King of England, in which he explained to the bottom his deſigns, and the ſtate of his affairs: He told me, that he knew the averſion the people of England had to the catholic religion, but with ſupport from your Majeſty he hoped to ſurmount this difficulty; that his ſole aim was to bring it about, and that he ſufficiently knew he could never be in entire ſafety till the catholic religion was eſtabliſhed in England in ſuch a manner as not to be ruined or deſtroyed; that this could not be done but with time, and by taking great precautions for the future; that he had many views upon it, of which I ſhould be informed when it was time; that at preſent the buſineſs was to lay the foundations of his reign and to eſtabliſh himſelf; that the aſſiſtance he ſtood in need of had been explained to me; that it was very oppoſite to his inclination to make exceſſive demands, but he alſo did not heſitate to expoſe his neceſſities to your Majeſty, having firmly reſolved to be all his life attached to your intereſts; that when he knew what he might certainly truſt to, he would undertake things which he would not dare to think of, unleſs he be in a capacity to ſupport them; that all your Majeſty had done glorious for your perſon, and advantageous to your ſtate, will not be more ſo than the conſequences of what your Majeſty ſhall at preſent do in his favour, becauſe a preſent ſupply, and the opinion already conceived of your Majeſty's ſupporting him, will put him in a condition to bring all his deſigns to ſucceed; that he will conduct them with your Majeſty's participation, and conformable to your intentions; that the re-eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion in England cannot ſucceed but under your protection, and by the help of your Majeſty's ſupplies; that God has put you

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in a ſtate of greatneſs and power to which no King of France for many ages arrived, in order to your being the reſtorer of religion in England.

I told this Prince, that I would repreſent to your Majeſty what he had ſaid; in the mean while I begged of him to refer himſelf to what your Majeſty might reſolve, and not attach himſelf ſo much to any preciſe demand as to hinder your Majeſty from ſeeing that he ſubmits to your judgment and deciſion the conduct of an affair of ſuch weight, and which requires ſo much precaution, and ſo powerful an aſſiſtance; that I am ſufficiently informed your Majeſty deſires nothing more than the re-eſtabliſhment of religion in England; but that this undertaking is full of difficulties, and will be ſtrongly oppoſed, if not conducted with all poſſible prudence; that as this is what ought to be concerted with your Majeſty, and ſuch ſolid meaſures taken as cannot fail, it is but juſt to refer himſelf to your Majeſty.

Yeſterday evening I again ſaw the King of England; he preſſed me to give your Majeſty an account of what he had ſaid to me, and told me that he ſhould wait with impatience for your Majeſty's determination, becauſe all his conduct will be directed by the reſolution which your Majeſty will take.

I have had a long conference in private with Lord Sunderland: He appeared to me to be informed to the bottom of the intentions and deſigns of the King his maſter. He believes him entirely reſolved to attach himſelf to your Majeſty, and to keep meaſures with the Prince of Orange only as far as it is at preſent neceſſary not to furniſh him with occaſions for making his ill will break forth. He told me, that thoſe who were for reuniting the King of England and the Prince of Orange would be very glad that your Majeſty ſhould not do at preſent what the King of England deſires of you, in order

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to be able hereafter to find ſome means of making him lean to the Prince of Orange's ſide, which will become entirely impoſſible if your Majeſty yields to what his Britannic Majeſty at preſent expects from your friendſhip."

Several of Barillon's diſpatches beſides this one prove that James had formed a determined reſolution to levy the late King's revenue, whether parliament ſhould grant it or not. Barillon writes thus to his court, March 1, 1686: — "Poſſeſſion, however, gives a ſort of right, and his Britannic Majeſty appears very reſolved to maintain it, be the conſequence what it will." On the 9th April, he writes thus to his court: — "The King continues to act with much firmneſs and haughtineſs; he does not even appear uneaſy for the future; even though parliament ſhould not grant him the revenues which the King his brother enjoyed, his reſolution ſeems determined, to maintain and continue the poſſeſſion of them."

Even when James ſubmitted to act by a parliament, he ſcorned to court the members. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 30th of April 1685: "This is not the road which the Prince intends to follow; and nothing is more oppoſite to what he deſigns to do. He will keep a firm and reſolute conduct. The method introduced by the Earl of Danby, of buying votes in parliament, ſucceeded ſo ill, that it is no longer thought of, and to ſpeak the truth, if it ſhould again be attempted to be put in practice, the ſame inconveniences would attend it. The King of England wants to do his buſineſs by putting the parliament under a neceſſity of granting him what he is reſolved to take, if they do not, that is, the deceaſed King's revenues." And on the 13th of December 1685, he writes thus: — "The treaſurer was alſo for employing money to gain the votes in parliament. The King of Great Britain was againſt taking this ſtep, having

having formerly known the inconveniences which happened from it; becauſe all thoſe who wanted money or poſts diſtinguiſhed themſelves againſt the court to obtain them."

Barillon's diſpatch of the 30th of May 1685, mentions that he had ſome time before received a remittance of 1,500,000 livres, and that he had told King James it was to be employed in his ſervice if needed. But Barillon's private inſtructions were not to give it unleſs in the event of the King's diſſolving his parliament, and being obliged to uſe force againſt his ſubjects. For on the 17th of May 1685, Barillon writes thus: "Your Majeſty permits me, by your laſt diſpatch, to give all the ſum that I may have in my hands, if I ſee the parliament diſſolved, and the King of England reduced to make his ſubjects ſubmit by force."

It appears from Barillon's diſpatch of the 16th of April 1685, that his objects were to get the King to act without parliaments, and ſeparate himſelf from Holland, and that the lures he threw out were the aſſiſtance of France to eſtabliſh the King's authority and the Roman Catholic religion; that James and Lord Rocheſter converted theſe lures into reaſons for France's giving an immediate ſupply of money; but that Sunderland (who probably ſaw better where France pointed) went farther, and directly propoſed an alliance with France, and a total ſeparation from the Price of Orange and the Houſe of Auſtria; and that Lord Godolphin in all theſe matters ſteered a moderate courſe. In this diſpatch he ſays he had told James, that the intentions of France were "to aſſiſt him to ſup-

port his authority, and eſtabliſh the Catholic religion; that theſe things appeared united and inſeparable:" That James preſſed for money from France ſaying he could not obſerve "a firm and high conduct if he was not ſecured of a ſupply which could not fail:" And that Lord Rocheſter, in aſking money alſo from France for his maſter, uſed theſe words: "That the queſtion at preſent was, to eſtabliſh his (*i. e.* the King's) authority, and give a firm form to government; that I, the King, ſufficiently knew of what importance it was to be in a condition here of giving the law and not receiving it."

The diſpatch then relates the ſentiments of Lord Sunderland and Lord Godolphin, as follows:

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Monſ. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth.——Different counſels of Sunderland and Godolphin.

April 16, 1685.

"LORD Sunderland was directly of opinion, that it was much more proper to take formal and reciprocal engagements; that the King, his maſter, ought to court every thing which could enſure him of your Majeſty's friendſhip. He fixes it for a fundamental principle, that the parliament, the Prince of Orange, and the Houſe of Auſtria, ought to be conſidered as having inſeparable intereſts, and that it is impoſſible to diſunite them; and that therefore to be well with your Majeſty, it is neceſſary not only to refrain from all alliance with them, but even to ſeparate from them with eclat, and take off the maſk when it ſhall be time, that is to ſay, when the parliament ſhall have granted the revenues. I kept upon the reſerve concerning the new engagements which might be taken; I contented myſelf with inſinuating the propoſition

poſition which your Majeſty ordered me to make on that head, and thought it was better to let it ariſe as a natural conſequence of what was treating, than as an overture on the part of your Majeſty. Lord Godolphin talked to me in the ſame ſtyle with Lord Rocheſter; though he be in the ſecret, he has no great credit, and thinks only to keep himſelf in by a wiſe and moderate conduct. I do not think if his opinion was truſted, that they would enter into engagements with your Majeſty to go on entirely without a parliament, and to break totally with the Prince of Orange."

After Monmouth's rebellion was quelled, and the parliament had ſettled a vaſt revenue upon James, he ſtill continued, as Barillon relates, to beg a ſubſidy from France. A diſpute between him and France, at this time, ſhews the minute attention of his genius to money. It was mentioned in Chapter 3d of the Appendix to the Review, that James, when Duke of York, had offered to lend his own money in France, as a mark of his confidence in Louis, and to facilitate a money treaty with his brother, which was then in proſpect. Barillon now writes, on the 13th of September 1685, that the Duke's money had been lent out, in Courtin's name, to the Hotel de Ville at Paris; that James was demanding it from Courtin; that Courtin, in accompting for the money, deducted ten or twelve thouſand livres becauſe the fund was fallen, but that James inſiſted the ſum lent ſhould be remitted without any deduction. Barillon adds, "The diſpute is about ten or twelve thouſand livres, more or leſs. This loſs, although moderate, would be looked upon here with chagrin, and as a want of conſideration for

his Britannic Majeſty." About the ſame time Barillon received orders from his court, to let James know, that they would give no ſubſidy at preſent, becauſe they thought he ſtood in no need of it. And Barillon writes, on the 25th October 1685, that he had payed in all to James only 800,000 livres.

The remittances from France above-mentioned, did not eſcape the vigilance of Lord Preſton, the King's ambaſſador at Paris, who had been kept ignorant of them by both courts. Among Lord Preſton's letters there is the following one.

Lord Preſton to King James.—Adviſes him of remittances of money from France to England.—Speaks of French parliamentary penſioners in the late reign.

A private advice to the King.

Paris, April 28, S. N. 1685.

In Mr. Graham's poſſeſſion.

"YOUR Majeſty may be pleaſed to remember, that ſome weeks ſince I acquainted you with an advice which I had received, that a conſiderable ſum of money was returned from hence into England immediately after the death of the late King; I am now, Sir, aſſured of the truth of it, and that it was remitted by the court banquier, Monſ. Gruſle. I cannot poſſibly aſſign the ſum to your Majeſty, but by conjectures, which are ſomething probable, it ſhould have been about a million of this money, which is about 83 or 84,000 pounds of ours. I know alſo that one of Monſ. Gruſle's ſervants went about that time into England, he being not willing, as is likely, to have truſted ſuch an affair to the ordinary poſt.

That

That I might have better grounds for what I inform your Majeſty of, I have privately informed myſelf by ſome banquiers how the exchange went about that time betwixt London and this place, and they all agree, that ſome weeks after the King's death, the exchange fell conſiderably, becauſe that the great need which they who remitted the money had of bills, obliged them to take them at any rate. But the remitting was quickly at a ſtop, and in eight or ten days the exchange mounted to its ordinary train. I will not preſume to write my conjectures to your Majeſty for what uſe this money may be deſigned, and I wiſh and hope, with all my heart, that my jealouſies may be vain. But, perhaps, your Majeſty will think fit to have an eye that no practices may be ſet on foot with our new members of parliament. I hope, however, no great ill of that kind can be done, ſince, by good fortune, we ſhall have very few of their old penſioners amongſt us."

Soon after this, James renewed the defenſive treaty with the Dutch: And Barillon, in his letters of 26th November, and 13th December, 1685, imputes it to France's having refuſed him the ſubſidy he aſked. In the laſt of theſe letters he repreſents James as extremely out of humour with France on this account, and that he talked of holding the balance of power in his hands.

Theſe things created a coldneſs for ſome time between France and James. During this interval James applied to the court of France in defence of the principality of Orange; but Louis and his miniſters treated his application with a haughty diſregard.

There are the following letters on this ſubject in King William's cabinet:

Lord

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—The King interpoſes about the principality of Orange.

"I HAVE received the honour of your Highneſs's letter of the 30th of January, upon which the King commanded me to write to Sir William Trumball, and I did ſo, in the following words: "His Majeſty would have you let Monſ. de Croiſſy know, that he cannot think that the anſwers you have received upon your memorials and inſtances concerning the proceedings at Orange, are ſuch as he ought to be ſatisfied with; and that therefore his Majeſty hopes the moſt Chriſtian King will, upon further conſideration, have more regard to the inſtances his Majeſty has made in behalf of the Prince of Orange's juſt pretenſions." This the King commanded me to write as being fit, though he does not expect much from it."

Whitehall, Jan. 26, 1685-6.

Extract of ſeveral letters from Sir William Trumball at Paris.—Concerning his application in favour of the principality of Orange.

December 5, 1685.

"I HAVE communicated the affair of the principality of Orange to the Dutch ambaſſador, and received an account from him of the ſeveral inſtances he has made from time to time to this court, but without any effect. The ſame day I entered into that matter with Monſ. de Croiſſy, who told me the moſt Chriſtian King had ſent orders to Monſieur Barillon to ſpeak with his Majeſty about it: that he could give me no other anſwer than what he had often given to the Dutch ambaſſador and others, which was, that the King acknowledged no ſovereignty there; that although he had left the Prince

of

of Orange for ſome time in quiet, ſo long as his conduct might deſerve it, yet now having oppoſed his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty ſo openly, he did not think fit to keep any longer the ſame meaſures, and that all was now done there, his troops being come away. When I urged the treaty of Nimeguen, by which the Prince of Orange was reſtored to his ſaid principality, with all the rights, &c. in the ſame condition, and the ſame manner that he had enjoyed before; and that I deſired the moſt Chriſtian King to conſider further, the near alliance between his Majeſty and the Prince of Orange obliged his Majeſty to interpoſe in a matter of ſuch conſequence; he replied, that he would ſpeak to the King of it, and repreſent what I had ſaid."

December 12. "As to the affair of Orange, he ſaid, this King could give me no other anſwer, than to the ſame purpoſe he himſelf had given me before, that all was now done there, and the troops come away; that this King reſolving to have but one religion in his country, thought himſelf obliged, in conſcience and juſtice, to take order for their converſions in that place as he had done in others; which being done, the temporal juriſdiction was left in the ſame condition that it was before. That he hoped the King, my maſter, would be ſatisfied with this anſwer, and not interpoſe in a thing wherein he had no intereſt, but leave this King free to do as he thought fit in his own dominions.

This was the ſubſtance of his anſwer; adding, that the right of ſovereignty did not belong to the Prince of Orange, but to the Houſe of Longueville, which the King had taken care to put into a courſe of trial before a competent judicature, and would be determined in due time."

January 2. "I gave in yeſterday ſeveral memorials: That concerning the Prince of Orange, Monſ. de Croiſſy

ſeemed extremely to reſent, that his Majeſty ſhould again interpoſe in a matter, which, he ſaid, did not at all concern him."

January 9. "The anſwer I received yeſterday about the principality of Orange is, in all reſpects, the ſame I had before, whereof having given your Lordſhip an account at large, I need not repeat any part of it. The King's troops are come again into that town (as your Lordſhip will find by the extract I ſent the laſt poſt), and the miniſters ſtill detained in priſon, which proceeding is more rigorous than the others received here, all the miniſters being ordered to go out of the kingdom, which is what thoſe of Orange deſire."

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—On the ſame ſubject.

Whitehall, February 12th, 1685-6.

"I HAVE acquainted the King with what your Highneſs was pleaſed to write me in your letter of the 12th: upon which his Majeſty commanded me to ſend to your Highneſs a copy of Sir William Trumball's laſt memorial; and to aſſure your Highneſs, that his Majeſty has done what he could poſſibly think fit to do in the affair of Orange, towards your ſatisfaction, having ſpoke to the ambaſſador of the French King here, as warmly as his envoy had order to ſpeak there; and he does now deſire to know what your Highneſs would have done farther, being very intent upon doing all he can.

It is a great mortification to me, that a buſineſs which paſſes through my hands, and that is of ſo great concern to your Highneſs, ſhould have ſuch ill ſucceſs. If any pains or endeavours of mine could contribue to your ſervice, I ſhould think them all well employed, wiſhing for

for nothing ſo much in the world as to be able to let your Highneſs ſee how zealouſly and how truly I am yours."

Extract of a letter from Sir William Trumball to Lord Preſident Sunderland.—On the ſame ſubject.—France refuſes ſatisfaction.

Paris, Feb. 17-27, 1685-6.

"MONSIEUR de Croiſſy continues ſtill indiſpoſed with the gout, and yeſterday gave audience in his bed concerning the memorial I had preſented about Orange. He told me he had repreſented it to the King, who continued ſtill in his former reſolution, that he acknowledged no ſovereignty of Orange to belong to the Prince, and that although, for ſome reaſons, he did forbear to have that right adjudged, yet that it was his inconteſtably, and that he had no other anſwer to give me; adding this late occaſion of diſpleaſure, by reaſon of the Prince's refuſal to deliver the children of one Monſ. Boſe (a counſellor of the parliament of Tholouſe, and formerly of the proteſtant religion, but lately changed). Monſ. Boſe had ſent his children thither, intending afterwards to eſcape himſelf: But ſince he made inſtances by Monſ. d'Avaux to have them ſent back, which, he ſaid, the Prince denied, and inſiſted further to keep what money they had brought with them, as a proviſion and ſubſiſtence for them. He told me the King had given orders to ſtop the Prince's receiving any part of his revenues of Orange, till he had given ſatisfaction in this matter."

James, however, being bent upon the eſtabliſhment of popery and of his own power at home, reſiſted, during his whole reign, the endeavours of the Prince of Orange

to engage him in meaſures or alliances hoſtile to France. The following, among other letters from him to the Prince of Orange, in King William's cabinet, ſhew how determined he was upon peace with France; and that the only war he approved of was againſt the Turks.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Deſirous of peace in Europe.

Windſor, September 1, 1685.

"ON Saturday laſt I had yours of the 30th of Auguſt and the 3d of September both together; by the firſt of which, I find, you then had received an account of the good news from Hungary, which was as welcome to me as to any body; and I make no doubt will contribute as much to the peace and quiet of Europe, as the good condition it has pleaſed God to put my affairs in; and I am ſure I will ſtill do my part, that the peace Chriſtendom now enjoys may be continued."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious to preſerve peace.

Whitehall, February 2, 1685-6.

"I HAVE had yours of the 5th, in which you ſay, ſome, where you are, begin to be alarmed at a voyage the King of France is to make this ſpring. All that I can ſay upon it is, that I do not think he will do any thing to diſturb the peace of Chriſtendom for ſeveral reaſons, and his miniſters here ſay it alſo; and I do what I can to let them ſee the inconveniences that may happen to their maſter, ſhould he begin a war, and will ſtill do what is in my power to prevent it."

King

King James to the Prince of Orange.——On the ſame ſubject.

Whitehall, February 16, 1686.

"I HAD yours of the 19th by the letters which came on Friday laſt, but ſo late that I had not then time to anſwer it. I ſee by it, you have ſtill ſome apprehenſions, as if France intended, by themſelves, or ſome of their allies, to interrupt the peace of Chriſtendom; I confeſs I hardly believe it, I am ſure I hope they will not, and they endeavour to perſuade me they have peaceable intentions."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is not moved by French encroachments.—Deſires only war againſt the Turk.

Whitehall, October 19, 1686.

"ALL I ſhall ſay upon what you ſay, as to the affair of Namur and Hunninguen, is, that as to the firſt, the Spaniards have had a very civil and ſatisfactory anſwer to it; ſo that that is at an end. For the other, I do not think it of ſuch conſequence, as to the Germans, as to ſet all Chriſtendom in a flame, except that they have a mind to fall upon France; and I am ſtill of the ſame mind I was to do my part, that there may be no war but againſt the Turk."

King James to the Prince of Orange.——To the ſame purpoſe.

Whitehall, March 8, 1687.

"I SUPPOSE you have by this ſeen the anſwer the Emperor's envoy in France had to the memorial he gave in to that King, by which you will ſee the truce

is not like to be broken, ſo that the war againſt the Turk may be ſtill carried on. I ſhall ſtill do my part to preſerve the peace of Chriſtendom."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Is deſirous to guarantee the twenty years truce.

Whitehall, May 10, 1687.

"I HAVE had yours of the 13th, by which I find, that you in Holland are not alarmed at the King of France's journey to Luxembourg. Thoſe who are jealous of it, will, I am confident, be ſoon out of their pain. I ſuppoſe Mr. Dyckvelt will give you an account of two memorials have been given me, the one by the Count Caunitz, and the other by the Spaniſh ambaſſador, both of them to deſire me to endeavour to perſuade the King of France to let me be guarantee of the truce. You may be ſure I will do my part to perſuade that King to it, ſince nothing can contribute more than that to continue the peace in Chriſtendom."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Rejoices at ſucceſs againſt the Turks.—Intent on the peace of Chriſtendom.

Windſor, September 19, 1687.

"I HAVE had a full account of what has paſſed in Hungary, and hope by the next letters from thence to hear what advantage the Germans have made of their victory, and that at leaſt they will get good winter-quarters by it. The good ſucceſs the Venetians have had in the Morea, will, I hope, alſo have a good effect as to the peace of Chriſtendom, which is what I always ſo much deſire ſhould be continual."

There are in King William's cabinet the following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, concerning the profecution of the Duke of Monmouth's adherents.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Calls the Weſtern circuit Jefferys's campaign.

Windſor, September 10, 1685.

"I HAVE now but little news to tell you, all things being very quiet at preſent here, though the preſbyterian and republican party are ſtill very buſy, and have as much mind to rebel again as ever. Lord Chief Juſtice is making his campaign in the weſt, and when the parliament meets, ſome of the peers which are in cuſtody will be tried."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Calls the Weſtern circuit Jefferys's campaign.—Enumerates the detail of ſeverities.

Windſor, September 24, 1685.

"AS for news there is little ſtirring, but that Lord Chief Juſtice has almoſt done his campaigne; he has already condemned ſeveral hundreds, ſome of which are already executed, more are to be, and the others ſent to the plantations."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.—Intereſts himſelf for Orange.—Intends to get Saxton pilloried by one trial and hanged by another.

Whitehall, January 15, 1686.

"YOU may eaſily believe I am ſorry Sir William Trumball has had no better an anſwer to the memorial he gave in concerning the affair of Orange; I ſhall

ſhall ſtill continue doing my part in preſſing it. Lord Delamer was tried yeſterday, and quitted by his peers, he had good luck, as well as juſt judges, that the only poſitive witneſs which came in againſt him, was proven to have ſworn falſely, for though the reſt of the evidence againſt him was only hear-ſays, yet all the world was ſatisfied he did deſign to have riſen with Lord Macklesfield and Lord Brandon. As for Saxſton, which was the perjured witneſs againſt Lord Delamer, I have ordered he ſhall be firſt proſecuted for perjury, that he may keep company with Oates, and then after he has ſtood in the pillory, to be tried for being with the Duke of Monmouth in arms."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of the Prince for giving refuge to the rebels in Holland.

Whitehall, March 7, 1686.

"I WOULD not let this bearer return into Holland without writing to you by him, and muſt need tell you that it does really ſeem ſtrange to me that ſo many of the rebels ſhould be connived at Amſterdam, and other towns in Holland, and other of the provinces, and permitted to live ſo publicly as they do: I have charged the bearer to ſpeak to you more at large upon this affair, which is of great concern to me; for ſo long as thoſe rebellious people are permitted to ſtay there, they will ſtill have the opportunities of correſponding with the diſaffected here and ſtirring them up to ſedition, whereas if they were driven out of the ſeven provinces, they could not be ſo dangerous. Pray conſider of this, and how important it is to me, to have thoſe people deſtroyed."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Pleaſed that the rebels are to be expelled from Holland.—Is to make an encampment at Hounſlow.

Whitehall, May 7, 1686.

"I FOUND both yours of the 7th and 10th here, by the laſt of which I find the States of Holland had agreed to comply with the treaties in baniſhing out of their provinces thoſe of my rebellious ſubjects, which have ſheltered themſelves ſo long there; and by what you ſay make no doubt but that the States General will do the like, and I am ſure you will do your part, to have it effectually put in execution, it being a thing of the laſt conſequence for the peace and quiet of my kingdoms to have thoſe turbulent men driven out of the ſeven provinces, for when once removed from thence, they can do no miſchief, though the republican ſpirit increaſes every day amongſt us here; but ſhould they be but connived there, they would ſtill be contriving new deſigns to diſturb me, for that reſtleſs and rebellious party will never be quiet. I am now preparing to go to Windſor next week, for moſt of the ſummer, and on the 20th of this month I am to have twelve battalions of foot encamped on Hounſlow-Heath; as for the horſe and dragoons I do not intend to have them there till the middle of next month."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

Windſor, May 18, 1686.

"SINCE I wrote to you by the laſt poſt I have had three, the one by the poſt of the 21ſt, by which I find the States General had reſolved to baniſh my rebellious ſubjects out of the ſeven provinces, and I make no doubt of your doing your part to have it put in execution, ſince you know of how great concern it is to me to have thoſe ſeditious people ſent away from thence. I

have another letter from you from Captain Steuart of an older date, and one from you alſo by M. General Mackay, with whom I have ſpoken fully with, upon all the ſeveral heads you charged him to ſpeak with me of, and do aſſure you that I eaſily believe all he has ſaid to me from you, and you need not fear that it is in any body's power to do you ill offices with me."

In the *Depot.* Barillon, in his diſpatch of the 26th of July 1685, ſays that he ſaw the Duke of Monmouth paſs through the apartments of the palace to his interview with the King; that his arms were tied behind with a ſilken cord, but his hands free; that none but the two ſecretaries of ſtate were preſent at the interview; and in his letter of the 30th of July, that the Duke gave no information againſt the Prince of Orange.

Barillon ſays, that the Duke in the Tower deſired to ſee his Dutcheſs, that ſhe refuſed unleſs Lord Clarendon ſhould be preſent, and that when ſhe went, the converſation was "aigre de part et d' autre," "bitter both on the one ſide and the other."

In the Memoirs to which the preſent papers are an appendix, there is an anecdote related upon tradition of King James's having paid a viſit to the Dutcheſs of Monmouth on the morning of her huſband's execution, and left with her a grant of his forfeiture. Barillon's diſpatch of the 17th of June 1686, confirms one part of the ſtory. It contains theſe words, "Touts les biens de M. le Duc de Monmouth en Ecoſſe et en Angleterre lui (*i. e.* the Dutcheſs) ont eté rendu." "All the Duke of Monmouth's eſtate in Scotland and England has been reſtored to his Dutcheſs."

In the *Depot.*

BOOK III.

PROSPEROUS Condition and Schemes of James.——His Speech to the ſecond Seſſion of Parliament.——Parliament rouſed.——Addreſs of the Commons.——The King's Anſwer.——The Lords prepare to imitate the Commons.——Parliament prorogued.——Similar Proceedings in Scottiſh Parliament.——It is prorogued.——Incampment on Hounſlow-heath.

1685.

EVERY thing now ſeemed to promiſe a reign of ſecurity to James. They who had beheld the firſt glorious and regular efforts of liberty againſt Charles the Firſt, were long ago dead. The ſurvivors among the old had only ſeen the private ambition and anarchy which immediately ſucceeded. Shaftſbury, Ruſſel, Eſſex, Sidney, were no more; new characters had not ariſen to aſſume their places; and the ſpirit of parliamentary oppoſition in England ſeemed to have been buried in their graves. The attempt of Monmouth, at the ſame time that it freed James from a rival, ſtrengthened, like other unſucceſsful rebellions, that power which it was meant to overturn. The Prince of Orange was thought to be fully occupied * with the internal diviſions of Holland, and the oppoſition which Louis the XIVth raiſed againſt him in his own country. Scotland was more quiet than it had been for a thouſand years before. One part of Ireland was ſubmiſſive to the laws, and the reſt of it attached to

Proſperous ſtate of James.

* D'Avaux, vol. 4.

PART I. BOOK III. 1685.

the intereſts of James by the ties of common religion. He was at peace with all his neighbours, and reſpected by them. At home, one party favoured him, another courted him, both dreaded him; and he poſſeſſed, what no King of England, from the time of the two firſt Norman Princes, had done, a great revenue independent of parliament, and a ſtrong army depending on himſelf only.

Drunk, in a manner, with proſperity, the King indulged the moſt extravagant ſchemes of ambition againſt his ſubjects. Even amidſt the dangers of the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, he had expreſſed his ſatisfaction at it to Barillon, "becauſe," he ſaid, "it would give him an opportunity of making himſelf maſter of his country." And he now formed a deſign of aboliſhing the militia for ever, ſubſtituting a ſtanding army in its ſtead, and of getting the Habeas Corpus law aboliſhed, that he might be completely maſter of the perſons of his ſubjects. He flattered himſelf likewiſe with the vain idea, that by keeping a fleet always ready manned, he might convert even the ſeamen into inſtruments of his power. He boaſted in public, that he was in love with bold and deciſive ſtrokes of authority, and received well the compliments of thoſe who flattered him on that head. Inſolence and meanneſs go continually together: While James was thus preparing to trample upon his generous ſubjects, he was fawning upon the natural enemy of their country. "I was brought up," ſaid he to Barillon, "in France: I have eat of your maſter's bread, and "my heart is French." Lord Rocheſter and Lord Godolphin, who in the beginning of his reign flattered him with ideas of independence upon parliament, now perceiving that they had gone too far, ſtrove in vain to repair the miſchief they had done *.

* Vid. Appendix.

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The firſt of his deſigns which he attempted to carry into execution was that of obtaining the ſanction of parliament for the ſupport of a ſtanding army, and for enabling popiſh officers to ſerve without being obliged to take the teſts againſt popery. But reſolute in his purpoſe, although he ſhould not obtain the conſent of parliament to it, he ſcorned to court the members, or to allow the common miniſterial influence to be uſed with them.

His ſpeech to the second ſeſſion of parliament. Nov. 9.

His ſpeech to the parliament, which re-aſſembled after the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, was therefore in a higher tone than he had hitherto aſſumed. He ſaid, the laſt rebellion had ſhown, that a ſtanding army, not the militia, afforded the only ſolid defence againſt invaſions; that on this account, he had conſiderably increaſed his army; that the expence of maintaining it was proportionably increaſed; and therefore, that an adequate ſupply was neceſſary for maintaining it. He continued in the following words: "Let no man take exception, becauſe there are "ſome officers not qualified for their employments, ac- "cording to the late teſt. Moſt of theſe gentlemen, I "muſt tell you, are well known to me; and having for- "merly ſerved with me on ſeveral occaſions, and always "proved the loyalty of their principles by their practice; "I think it fit, now, that they ſhould be employed un- "der me: And I will deal plainly with you, that, after "having had the benefit of their ſervice in ſuch time of "need and danger, I will neither expoſe them to diſgrace, "nor myſelf to the want of them, in caſe any new rebel- "lion ſhould make them neceſſary for me." He concluded with warning his parliament againſt fears and jealouſies; an argument which raiſed both, becauſe it betrayed a conſciouſneſs that he either deſerved or expected them.

Parliament routed.

This ſpeech mentioned no other buſineſs; and therefore the attention of thoſe to whom it was addreſſed, became

PART I. BOOK III. 1685.

ſo much the more rouſed and fixed. Many were yet alive who had ſeen the ſubjection under which Cromwell had kept the nation by means of a ſtanding army. Complaints of the growth of popery were become almoſt habitual againſt the princes of the Stuart family. And men remembered, with fondneſs, the expreſſion of Lord Nottingham, when the teſt-act was paſſed in the late reign, that "now the doors were for ever ſhut againſt popery "in England." In an inſtant, therefore, that parliament, which had hitherto appeared to have no will but the will of its ſovereign, became animated with a ſpirit reſembling that of their predeceſſors in the four late parliaments. The commons, upon their return from the royal preſence to their own houſe, perceiving, in each other's looks, the conſciouſneſs of what they had not time to communicate in words *, inſtead of giving thanks immediately for the King's ſpeech, though a motion was made for that purpoſe, put off the conſideration of the ſpeech for three days, and in the mean time adjourned.

Nov. 12. When they met again †, they indeed voted a ſupply, but left the extent of it undetermined until they ſhould receive ſatisfaction with regard to the teſts; and with a view to obviate the King's complaints of the militia, they ordered a bill for rendering it more uſeful. Next day, when they were urged to aſcertain the extent of the ſupply, they reſolved by a vote of 183 to 182, to proceed previouſly to the conſideration of that part of the ſpeech which related to the King's power of diſpenſing with the teſts; and then agreed upon an addreſs to the King in the following words:

Addreſs of commons. "As to that part of your Majeſty's ſpeech "relating to the officers in the army not qualified for "their employments, we do, out of our bounden duty, "humbly repreſent unto your Majeſty, that theſe officers "cannot by law be capable of their employments, and

* Journ. houſe of commons, Nov. 9. † Ibid. Nov. 12, 13.

" that the incapacities they bring upon themſelves can in " no way be taken off but by an act of parliament: " Therefore, out of that great reverence and duty we " owe unto your Majeſty, who have been graciouſly " pleaſed to take notice of their ſervices, we are preparing " a bill to paſs both houſes, for your royal aſſent, to in- " demnify them from the penalties they have now incur- " red: And, becauſe the continuing them in their em- " ployments may be taken to be a diſpenſing with that " law, without an act of parliament, the conſequence of " which is of the greateſt concern to the rights of all " your Majeſty's ſubjects, and to all the laws made for " the ſecurity of their religion: We, therefore, the " knights, citizens, and burgeſſes, of your Majeſty's " Houſe of Commons, do moſt humbly beſeech " your Majeſty, that you would be moſt graciouſly " pleaſed to give ſuch directions therein, that no appre- " henſions or jealouſies may remain in the hearts of your " Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects." Words apparently ſmooth and decent, but which meant more than they ſeemed to expreſs. In order to give this reſolution more weight, the country-party moved to aſk the concurrence of the Lords: But many of their friends, thinking the victory ſufficient, or not truſting to a houſe, which, during a century paſt, had been always attached to the crown, oppoſed the motion; and it was rejected by a vote of 212 to 138 *.

The commons then proceeded to the conſideration of the ſupply. The court, by the mouth of Sir John Ernley, Chancellor of the Exchequer, aſked 1,200,000 *l.* for the ſupport of the new-raiſed forces, during the term of five years. Some of the country party propoſed to give 200,000 *l.* But the more moderate of both ſides, judging that the former propoſal gave a parliamentary

* Journ. houſe of commons, Nov. 16.

ſanction

PART I. BOOK III. 1685.

ſanction to a ſtanding army, and that the latter implied an affront to the King, choſe rather to give 700,000 *l.* at once, without mentioning the particular ſervice for which it was intended.

The King's anſwer.

The commons, two days after, carried their addreſs in a body to the King. With a violence of geſture, and voice, and look, not uſual to him, he made the following anſwer: "Gentlemen, I did not expect ſuch an addreſs "from the Houſe of Commons: For, having ſo lately "recommended to your conſideration the great advan- "tages a good underſtanding between us had produced "in a very ſhort time, and given you warning of fears "and jealouſies amongſt ourſelves, I had reaſon to hope, "that the reputation God had bleſſed me with in the "world would have created and confirmed a greater con- "fidence in you of me, and of all that I ſay to you. "But, however you proceed on your part, I will be ſteady "in all my promiſes I have made to you, and be juſt to "my word in this, and all my other ſpeeches."

Next day, when the Speaker read this anſwer to the Houſe, there enſued a long and deep ſilence: A pauſe more expreſſive of diſpleaſure than the moſt animated complaints. But, after ſome time, the members having recovered themſelves, Mr. Wharton, afterwards Lord Wharton, moved for a day to take this anſwer into conſideration. Mr. Cook, a country-gentleman of large fortune, ſeconded him, uſing theſe words: "I hope we "are all Engliſhmen, and not to be frightened out of our "duty by a few hard words." The court oppoſed the motion: The houſe warmed: Lord Preſton having written down Mr. Cook's words as he ſpoke them, moved to ſend him to the tower. Mr. Cook's party did not venture to protect him: Neither did they put the motion for conſidering the King's anſwer to a vote*: The

* Journ. houſe of commons, Nov. 18.

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houſe diſcovering in theſe things, as in the general train of their behaviour, a mixture of firmneſs, and of fear of the King; a behaviour not to be wondered at in men, many of whom reflected, that they had formerly oppoſed his right of ſucceeding to the crown. 1685.

Lords prepare to imitate the Commons.

The Houſe of Lords diſcovered the ſame mixed conduct, with a little more civility: Without adjourning, as the Commons had done, to conſider the King's ſpeech, they returned thanks for it* the ſame day it was made. A ſarcaſm of Lord Devonſhire, which was miſtaken for an expreſſion of ſincerity, contributed to this: For he ſaid, "That thanks were due to the King, for diſcover-"ing his intentions ſo plainly." But, after the ſpirit of the Commons had diſcloſed itſelf, Compton, Biſhop of London, brother to the Earl of Northampton, moved for a day to take the King's ſpeech into conſideration, and hinted, that he did ſo in the name of his brethren. He was ſupported by the Lords Nottingham, Mordaunt, and Halifax; the laſt of whom had quitted the King's ſervice, when preſſed to concur in his ſchemes about religion. Jeffreys oppoſed the motion with his uſual inſolence; was checked, and ſunk under correction: It was a new ſpectacle in England, to ſee the Biſhops oppoſing the King's will, and Jeffreys making apologies. The Biſhop of London's motion prevailed.

Parliament prorogued.

But James ſtopped the effect of this motion: For, in a few days, he prorogued the parliament, after it had ſate eleven days only; and never aſſembled it again; a prorogation which diſcovered to the nation, how independent he eſteemed himſelf to be, when he could ſo eaſily conſent to loſe 700,000 *l.* voted, but not provided for, by the Houſe of Commons. Soon after, he diſmiſſed many of his ſervants and officers, who had voted againſt his mea-

* Lords Journals, Nov. 9.

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PART I. BOOK III.

1685.

sures; and struck the name of Compton from the council book *.

Similar proceedings in the Scottish parliament.

From the Scotch parliament greater compliance was expected: James, in his letter, recommended to that assembly, "his innocent Roman Catholic subjects, who "lay under discouragements hardly to be named;" and desired, "they might not be suffered to lie under obliga-"tions which their religion could not admit;" guarded words, but which marked, that he wanted the penal laws and the tests provided against Roman Catholics to be repealed. The Lord Commissioner Murray, after promising the Scotch an indemnity, together with a variety of other national favours, in point of commerce with England, France, the Netherlands, Ireland, and their own country, informed the parliament, that the King wanted no supply, and only desired, in return for so many favours, "That they would give ease and security to some of his "good subjects of the Roman Catholic religion." Words which the parliament pretended not to understand. But, when two of the Bishops, Ross and Patterson, proposed a repeal of the test against Roman Catholics, the parliament, which had been so lukewarm the year before in the case of liberty, fired at the name of religion. Present pride, and a desire to wipe off ancient dishonour, stimulated them still more. For they repeated to each other, "That by refusing to sell their God, they ought "to wipe off the reproach of having sold their King." All that could be obtained was leave to prepare a bill to indulge Papists in the private exercise of their religion: And, when the bill was brought into the House, the opposition to it was so violent, that Murray received orders to prorogue the parliament. It shared the same fate with that of England, and met no more. After

Scottish parliament prorogued.

* Books of Privy Council, December 23, 1685.

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1685.

the prorogation, Paterſon was made Archbiſhop of Glaſgow; and ſome of the oppoſing Biſhops were, in virtue of the King's power of ſupremacy, removed from their ſees. The degree to which the paſſions of men were heated, by the King's aſking favour for Roman Catholics, had made the proteſtant diſſenters overlook that he had aſked none for them, although they likewiſe were ſuffering as nonconformiſts. When this was recollected, their diſpleaſure with their own inattention renewed, and increaſed their diſpleaſure with the King.

Encampment at Hounſlow-heath.

After the prorogation of the parliaments of England and Scotland, James was the only Prince who, from the time of William the Conqueror, took the only meaſure which can put it in the power of a King of England to reign independent of parliaments. He eſtabliſhed and regulated a perpetual encampment of 12,000 men on Hounſlow-heath, under the pretence, common to Princes, of diſcipline and national defence; but, in reality, in hopes that the ſoldiers, from the view of their own numbers and ſtrength, might acquire confidence in themſelves, and take it from the reſt of their fellow-ſubjects: A dangerous engine of government, which generally ſubjects the people to the Prince, and the Prince to itſelf. He careſſed the officers; he flattered the ſoldiers: In the plenitude of his joy, he could not refrain from carrying the Queen and the Princeſs frequently to dine in the camp, and from deſcanting * in his letters to the Prince of Orange upon the beauty of his troops, perhaps not without a ſecret pleaſure from the reflection, that his exultation could give no great pleaſure to the Prince.

* Vide Appendix.

BOOK IV.

SUNDERLAND's Promotion.——Cabal of Seven, and its Plans.——Diſpenſing Power aſſerted.——Roman Catholics brought into Offices.——Scotland new-modelled.——And Ireland.——Letters Mandatory.——Sharpe's Trial.——Sunderland's Intrigues to remove Rocheſter and Clarendon.——Sunderland's Ambition diſappointed.——Attempts upon the Poſſeſſions of the Church.——Declaration of Indulgence.——Attempt to divide the Church and Diſſenters.——The King deceived by Addreſſes.——His Ideas of Government.——Attempt upon Magdalene College.——Biſhops Petition, and Conſequences of it.——Diſpoſitions of the Army.——Of the People.——Birth of the Prince of Wales.

PART I. BOOK IV.

1686.

Sunderland promoted.

THE prorogation of the Engliſh Parliament was ſucceeded by the further promotion of Sunderland; a promotion which proved fatal to him who beſtowed it. Having privately embraced his maſter's religion, he was appointed Preſident of the Council, continued Secretary of State, received the Garter, and became his firſt favourite: A man of clear views, of quick deciſion, of infinite inſinuation; who was ſucceſſively the favourite of three Princes, though of the moſt oppoſite characters. He

1686 and 1687.

adopted all the partiality of James in favour of Roman Catholics; upon the principles of toleration, of equality, and of the right which, by the law of nature, the Sovereign has to the ſervice of all his ſubjects, ſupporting meaſures upon the reaſonings of political wiſdom, which James adopted only from zeal for religion *; and forming into regular plans for execution thoſe ideas which the other was not able to combine. By thoſe means he hoped to continue an abſolute miniſter of an abſolute monarch, if the nation ſhould yield to the King; or to aſſume merit with the Prince of Orange, from having urged James to his ruin, if the nation ſhould riſe up againſt him. The difficulties too in which his expenſive way of living continually involved him, made him hope to repair his fortunes in times of innovation and danger. There is good reaſon to believe, that he enjoyed penſions from the Prince of Orange, Louis the XIVth, and James, all at one time; pretending to each of thoſe Princes, a ſeparate attention to his intereſt †.

Cabal of ſeven.—Its plans.

Sunderland knew well the embarraſſment he was to expect from Lord Rocheſter. He therefore complained to James, that Rocheſter's zeal for the church of England would diſappoint all projects in favour of the Roman Catholic religion which were debated in council; and perſuaded him to appoint privately a ſelect council for concerting all meaſures to be taken which regarded the intereſts of that religion. The cabal conſiſted of ſeven perſons: The King, Lord Sunderland, Father Petre, a Jeſuit, Confeſſor to the Queen, a man of noble birth, but puffed up with a vanity and ambition which gave Sunderland an eaſy hold of him, and the Lords Bellaſis,

* There are ſeveral of his letters in the paper-office, to perſons abroad, concerning the intereſts of the Roman Catholic religion in England.

† After the revolution, Louis the XIVth told James, that Lord Sunderland had a penſion from him; and that Sunderland had made him believe that it was by his maſter's permiſſion he took it.

PART I. BOOK IV.

1686 and 1687.

Powis, Arundel, and Dover, Roman Catholics. The place of its meeting was ſometimes at Sunderland's houſe, and at other times in Chiffinch's lodgings at Whitehall. Sunderland, ſoon after, under pretence that all public affairs were ſo much connected with thoſe of religion that the two could not be ſeparated, got moſt of the intereſts of ſtate committed likewiſe to this private council. The objects of the cabal were, to procure a free admiſſion of Roman Catholics into offices, notwithſtanding the teſts; and a toleration for their religion, by a ſuppreſſion of the other penal laws againſt it. By theſe means, but chiefly by the diſtribution of offices, when the teſts were removed, James flattered himſelf, that he ſhould inſenſibly draw his ſubjects over to his religion, without the aid of perſecution. In their original plans, it was agreed, from a regard to the loyalty of the church of England, that no intruſions ſhould be made into her dignities or poſſeſſions; A reſolution, however, that was not afterwards adhered to. But a commiſſion, which erected an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion-court, with powers to puniſh offences in the clergy, was privately prepared, in order to be opened, if the King's ſcheme of confounding the diſtinction between Proteſtants and Papiſts ſhould meet with oppoſition.

April.

Diſpenſing power aſſerted.

In bringing Roman Catholics into office without taking the teſts, James had hitherto endeavoured to get the ſanction of parliament on his ſide; and, in one of his kingdoms, he had aimed at giving protection only to military officers. But, after the eſtabliſhment of this cabal, he was put in mind of the diſpenſing power of the crown. It was ſaid, "His brother had twice aſſerted it to procure "a toleration for his Roman Catholic ſubjects, and muſt "have ſucceeded, had he not communicated his intentions to parliaments, and, by that means, given them "a title to interpoſe in a branch of prerogative which "was inherent in the crown, and independent of them.

"He

"He might now exert the same power to secure a participation of offices to his Roman Catholic subjects, and, "by avoiding his brother's error, avoid his defeats." The scheme of dispensing with the tests had been first suggested by Lord Chief Justice Herbert, in the end of the late reign; and when Jeffreys was consulted upon it, he confirmed the opinion of Herbert. Charles, however, was afraid to make the experiment. But his successor, who had severely felt the effects of party in parliament in the former part of his life, and who imputed likewise to party the late opposition to his will in the parliaments of England and Scotland, grasped eagerly at the use which he saw might be made of the instrument held forth to him. In order, therefore, to get the law on his side, he founded the judges; Four of them were found refractory; and two of these, Jones and Montague, were heads of courts. It is reported, that the King said to Jones, "He would have twelve judges of his own opi-"nion;" and that Jones answered, "Twelve judges April 21. "you may possibly find, Sir, but hardly twelve law-"yers." James, thinking that this demur proceeded likewise from the infection of party, removed these four, and placed others more pliant in their seats. A suit was brought against Colonel Hales, a Roman Catholic, at the instance of his coachman, for not taking the test against popery. The Colonel defended himself, by pleading a dispensation from the King. The question was the most important and the most delicate that ever was tried in a court of justice; because the event of it was, to determine whether the constitution of England was, in future ages, to be accounted a limited or an absolute monarchy; and because, on the part of the King, were produced ancient precedents, with the opinions of former lawyers; and in opposition to these, stood the proceedings * of par-

* State Trials, vol. 2. p. 800.

liaments

PART I. BOOK IV. 1686 and 1687.

liaments in the late reign, and the alterations in the nature of the conſtitution, and in the opinions of men, which at all times have influence upon laws, in ſpite of the laws themſelves. Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert gave judgment in favour of the defendant; and upon a ſolemn argument and judgment of the twelve judges, all, except one †, acquieſced in his opinion. This judgment reſounded through all parts of England; drew down imprecations upon the judges; confirmed a want of reverence for the laws, one of the worſt evils which can befall a nation governed by them; and, cheriſhing the hopes of a few, filled the reſt of the King's ſubjects with dejection and fears. A ſaying of Lord Juſtice Hales was everywhere repeated: "That the twelve red coats in "Weſtminſter-hall were able to do more miſchief to the "nation, than as many thouſands in the field." Thoſe who could not judge of law-arguments, were able enough to perceive, that a diſpenſing, a ſuſpending, and a repealing power, were the ſame; and that, if the King could break through one law, he might break through all.

Applications for a repeal of the teſts.

After obtaining this judgment, James applied perſonally to a great number of the members of parliament, to conſent to a parliamentary repeal of the teſts: The Judges received orders to make the ſame applications in their circuits: Practices † which firſt brought the term *Cloſeting* into the Engliſh language. Both were equally unſucceſsful. For a ſenſe of honour, and the dread of that reproach which all the new converts incurred from the public, kept many firm to the profeſſion of their religion, whoſe principles were otherwiſe looſe. Two eminent inſtances of this appeared in Admiral Herbert and Colonel Kirk. Herbert, though a profeſſed libertine,

* Judge Street.

† Reresby, 239. et paſſim. Lord Sunderland's apology.

and

and a man of unbounded expence, resigned the lucrative offices of Vice Admiral and Master of the Robes, rather than comply with his master's intreaties for the repeal of the tests; and, when Kirk was urged by the King to turn Catholic, he excused himself, by saying, "He had "given a promise to the Emperor of Morocco, that, if "he ever changed his religion, he would become a "Mussulman." 1686 and 1687.

Most of those who refused their assent to the repeal of the tests, among whom were many of the highest rank, and of the King's firmest friends *, were removed from the civil or military offices which they held, and Roman Catholics, with dispensations, generally put into their places. Several professed Papists were appointed judges, and others brought to the council-board, particularly the Lords Bellasis, Powis, Arundel, Dover, and Tyrconnel. They were likewise introduced into all the inferior departments of government. They were made sheriffs, justices of the peace †; the government of corporations, the lieutenancies of counties, were put into their hands: The measures of the late King, in new-modelling corporations, by means of writs of *quo warranto*, were renewed, and the new magistrates were composed indiscriminately of Catholics and Protestants. Roman Catholics brought into offices.

In Scotland, similar measures were pursued: The Chancellor Perth, with the Lords Tarbet and Balcarras ‡, received private instructions to solicit the judges, and the officers of state and of the army, to contribute to the repeal of the tests. The King wrote letters with his own hand to the Dukes of Hamilton and Queensberry to obtain their consent to the repeal of the tests §. Queensberry refused: Hamilton did what was equivalent; for he desired time to consider. Scotland new-modelled.

* Reresby 243. 256. et passim. † Books of privy-council, December 17. Reresby passim. ‡ Balcarras, 15. § Vide Appendix.

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PART I. BOOK IV. 1686 and 1687.

The commiſſions of the judges, which were for life, were changed *, and made to continue during pleaſure only. As the tradeſmen and mechanics were the moſt averſe of any from the forms of popery, the common-councils of almoſt all the boroughs † were altered by the hand of ſovereign power, without either ſentence or ſurrender. The tory-miniſtry, which the King, when Duke of York, had appointed at the end of his brother's reign, was diſmiſſed; and a new one formed, which conſiſted partly of Roman Catholics, and partly of nonconformiſts. The chief power was committed to Lord Murray a weak, Chancellor Perth a timid, the Chancellor's brother Lord Mellfort, an unpopular man, all of whom were Roman Catholics. To theſe was joined Sir John Dalrymple, ſon to Lord Stair. This laſt miniſter had ſeen his father ruined by the King, when Duke of York; and had himſelf, upon account of his lenity to nonconformiſts, been confined ‡ for many months in a common jail by the ſame Prince: Yet he was now appointed Lord Advocate, and Lord Juſtice Clerk, offices at that time of great political power, and a Privy Counſellor. Theſe preferments were beſtowed upon him by the advice of Sunderland, who ſuggeſted that by his means an union between the Preſbyterian and Popiſh parties in Scotland might be effectuated. Capricious favours, after capricious puniſhments, are inſults: Sir John Dalrymple came into the King's ſervice reſolved to take vengeance if ever it ſhould offer: Impenetrable in his deſigns, but open, prompt, and daring in execution, he acted in perfect confidence with Sunderland, to whom he was inferior in nothing, and ſuperior in eloquence. Stuart, who had been driven from Scotland by the Duke of York, had been engaged in the Ryehouſe-plot, and had aſſiſted

* Claim of right. † Ibid. ‡ Lord Stair's Apology.

Monmouth

Monmouth in his attempt, was pardoned for all his treasons, and, as secretary to Lord Mellfort, who was Secretary of State for Scotland *, was intrusted with all the secrets of government in that kingdom. His office obliging him to draw the state-papers, he filled them with high strains of the absolute power of the King, either from the affectation of loyalty natural to a new convert, or, by a refinement of revenge, to throw odium upon the sovereign he had formerly opposed. Several of the whig and dissenting party were brought into employments; a number sufficient to disoblige the royalists, but not sufficient to satisfy their own party. The very first orders from Mellfort's officeat London, to this new administration, were calculated to make James unpopular: All who were in public station were commanded to surrender their commissions, and take out new ones, without complying with the tests; and immediately after, they were commanded to take out pardons, for having transgressed the laws by their obedience. But Mellfort and Stuart had large fees for issuing the commissions and the pardons †.

And Ireland.

While James was in this manner alternately encouraged or disappointed in his projects in favour of popery by his British subjects, his successes in Ireland, a country already full of Catholics, and long subjected to the government of England, gave him hopes unallayed with any uneasiness. The surest marks of the spirit of a government are to be found in the administration of its provinces. The custody of arms in Ireland was by law intrusted to Protestants only. These had been taken from them during Monmouth's rebellion, by orders of Lord Tyrconnel the General, under pretence that the Protestants were, in general, well disposed to Monmouth's cause;

* Lord Balcarras. † Ibid.

PART I. BOOK IV. 1686 and 1687.

and the arms were laid up in magazines: Some, however, ſtill remaining in the hands of private perſons in ſome of the Proteſtant counties, Clarendon now received orders to call in theſe likewiſe. All corporations and offices of every kind, from the higheſt to the loweſt, were thrown open to Roman Catholics, and ſome branches of government were engroſſed almoſt entirely by them. The general language of office was to ſpeak with contempt of all Proteſtants. In order to maintain a ſuperiority in the privy-council, the Roman Catholic puiſne judges, and even ſome private practiſing lawyers, were introduced into it: Honours which they themſelves were aſhamed of, becauſe they were conſcious that men of their order had never enjoyed them before. A regular Popiſh hierarchy was eſtabliſhed: The Biſhops received orders to wear the habits of their order in public: Revenues were aſſigned to them, and a penſion of above 2000 *l.* a-year was ordered to the Primate, from the rents of the Proteſtant biſhoprics, which, for theſe purpoſes, were kept vacant. The modelling of the army was committed to Lord Tyrconnel: He caſhiered above four thouſand Proteſtant ſoldiers, and above three hundred Proteſtant officers, many of whom had bought their commiſſions, and others ſhed their blood in the cauſe of the crown. The diſmiſſion of the ſoldiers made the greater impreſſion, becauſe their clothes having been taken from them when they were broke, they wandered half naked through every part of the kingdom. The places of both were filled up chiefly with natives of Ireland of the Popiſh religion, and with many whoſe fathers had loſt their eſtates for their rebellion. Moſt of the diſbanded officers retired into Holland, carrying with them complaints of their own and their country's wrongs, were provided for by the Prince of Orange, and afterwards attended him, at the revolution, to England. New

arms

arms in new hands were made uſe of as might have been expected: The ſoldiers haraſſed the inhabitants, and lived upon them at free quarter. Tyrconnel, inſtead of puniſhing thoſe offences, encouraged them. Many of the officers boaſted, that, now they had got arms in their hands, they would ſoon have their eſtates again in their poſſeſſion. Rumours of inſurrections ran everywhere: Theſe were increaſed by diſſenſions, ariſing from affront and competition between the diſbanded ſoldiers and the new ones. The Engliſh ſettled in Ireland remembered the maſſacre of their anceſtors, and fled in numbers from a country which they thought doomed to miſery in every age. Provoked by this ſituation of their country, the Proteſtant privy-counſellors quitted the council, and left Tyrconnel to do what he pleaſed. It would be hard to impute all theſe violences to James: They cannot even be imputed to thoſe who ſhared his confidence: His Popiſh privy-counſellors in England oppoſed ſome of the violent projects of Tyrconnel: For, among other extravagances, Tyrconnel having ſent over Lord Chief Juſtice Nugent, and Lord Chief Baron Rice, to ſolicit at court the repeal of the act of ſettlement, and the populace having followed their coaches wherever they went, with potatoes faſtened to ſticks, calling out, "Make way "for the Iriſh ambaſſadors;" Lord Bellaſis ſaid aloud, "That fellow, Dick Talbot, is madman enough to ruin "ten kingdoms." It often happens, that officers of government, who know its general intentions, carry the particular execution to exceſs, in order to enhance their own merit, though at the expence of thoſe who employ them. James's apology for the diſmiſſion of the officers, was, that he gave orders to Tyrconnel to diſmiſs only thoſe who, or whoſe fathers, had ſerved under Cromwell; but that Tyrconnel exceeded his orders. By the prudence of Clarendon, however, all James's regulations were ſub-

PART I. BOOK IV.

mitted to; and no insurrections were made in that kingdom *.

1686 and 1687. The church roused.

The noise of those innovations in Ireland filled England with alarms, as it is natural for the human mind to dread most those evils which it hears of, but sees not. The church of England was first roused. She who had preserved James's right of succession, and who had so long preached to the laity the doctrine of passive obedience, in favour of the Princes of his family, now overlooked her own principles, when she saw the interests of religion openly invaded. The timid and weak vented privately their discontents in complaints against the ingratitude of James: But the bolder and more manly warned the people in public, and made the pulpits resound with their sermons against the approaches and the consequences of popery. In proportion as any preacher was remarkable for his reasoning, his eloquence, or his character, he exerted himself in this cause. Many of the clergy in higher ranks, either animated the preachers, or, by an affected but not mysterious silence, gave them an opportunity of assuming merit from a boldness which it was insinuated their superiors could not shew, without bringing danger upon the order.

Letters mandatory.

The effects of these exertions of the clergy were soon felt. The people were touched: The discontent began to spread: James saw it, and was alarmed: He recollected the effects of popular preaching upon the quiet of some of his predecessors. He was provoked too, because he had formed his expectations of the behaviour of the church upon the Oxford decree, the doctrines of the church herself, and the addresses of the nation: And therefore he resolved to stop the flame in its progress, by issuing letters mandatory to the Bishops, which prohibited the clergy to

March 15. July 17.

* Ralph, with the authorities which he quotes. Clarendon's letters, lately published, present a lively picture of the fatal schemes of James and Tyrconnel, in Ireland.

preach

1686 and 1687.

preach upon points of controverſy; and by promulgating* the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion for trying and puniſhing the offences of the clergy in the exerciſe of their duty. This commiſſion was an engine of authority the more important, on account of the extraordinary words in which it was expreſſed: For it gave a power to puniſh† even "thoſe who *ſeemed* to be ſuſpected of offences;" and to "*correct*, *amend*, and *alter* the ſtatutes of the univer- "ſities, churches, and ſchools; or, where the ſtatutes "were loſt, to deviſe new ones;" and theſe powers were declared to be effectual, "notwithſtanding any law "or ſtatute to the contrary." The court conſiſted of Sancroft Archbiſhop of Canterbury, Crew Biſhop of Durham, and Sprat of Rocheſter, the Lords Rocheſter, Sunderland, and Jeffreys, and Lord Chief Juſtice Herbert. The greater terrors attended it, becauſe it could not ſit, unleſs when Jeffreys was preſent. It was known privately that Sancroft, from reſpect to the church, would not act; which gave an opportunity of putting the Biſhop of Cheſter, a prelate leſs ſcrupulous, in his place. It was expected, that Lord Rocheſter, from reſpect to the King, would not oppoſe his will in the new court. And the King was certain of the compliance of the reſt. As the eccleſiaſtical high commiſſion-court had been aboliſhed in the reign of Charles the Firſt, by a ſtatute which prohibited the erection of any ſuch court for the future, the legality of this court was, by moſt people, called in queſtion. But, in a kingdom where the rights of men, and the boundaries of courts, were ſo well aſcertained, James was obliged either to lay hold of expedients, whoſe legality was doubtful, or to ſubmit to the laws.

The inſtitution of this court ſtruck the clergy with awe. They waited with anxiety to ſee on whoſe head Sharp's trial.

* Books of privy-council, 17 July. † State Trials, vol. 3. p. 693.

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PART I. BOOK IV.

1686 and 1687.

the ſtorm ſhould firſt break; moſt hoping it would fall on his neighbour; and a few, from a deſire to aſſume merit from their ſufferings, wiſhing that it might fall upon themſelves. By mutual exhortations and aſſurances, they endeavoured to fortify each other; and, as often happens in ſuch caſes, the moſt timid became the moſt clamorous, and thoſe of the moſt fortitude were the moſt modeſt. It was not long before the new court found objects of its juriſdiction. Doctor Sharp, in the pulpit, inveighing againſt the arguments in favour of popery, had expreſſed a contempt of thoſe who could be converted by them. This was explained at court into a reflection againſt many of the King's courtiers, who had become converts to that religion, and even againſt the King himſelf. James was not diſpleaſed to find that Sharp was under the juriſdiction of the obnoxious Compton Biſhop of London,

May 14.

and iſſued a mandate * to the Biſhop to ſuſpend him. Compton, being a man who derived pride from his noble blood, and temper from an order whoſe genuine ſpirit is meekneſs, reſolved not to obey, but to act ſuch a part as ſhould expoſe the King, and ſave himſelf. He wrote a letter to Lord Sunderland, deſiring it ſhould be communicated to the King. In this letter he ſaid, "That the "only power he had over Sharp, was as his judge; and "that he could not in that capacity condemn him, with-"out the forms of law." He added, "Sharp was ſo "willing to give his Majeſty all reaſonable ſatisfaction, "that he had made him the bearer of the letter." No anſwer being returned, and Sharp not admitted, the Biſhop perceived that James had taken his reſolution. In order, therefore, to make ſeverity inexcuſable, he deſired Sharp to deſiſt, for ſome time, from preaching; and he prevailed upon him to write a petition to the King, in which he expreſſed ſorrow that his words had given occa-

* State Trials, vol. 3. p. 695.

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1686 and 1687.

ſion for conſtructions that were offenſive, and promiſed to be more guarded for the future. Interceſſions were in vain: Sharp was but a name: Compton was the perſon aimed at: His humiliation had been reſolved upon. He was cited to appear before the new commiſſion-court. The only form of his proſecution was the following queſtion, put to him by Jeffreys, preſident of the court: "What was the reaſon of his not having ſuſpended Doc- "tor Sharp, according to the King's expreſs command, "for preaching ſeditiouſly againſt the government?" The Biſhop argued, "The court before which he now "appeared, was not legal: He was ſubject to his metro- "politan and ſuffragans alone: He was a Prelate of Eng- "land, a Lord of parliament, and could be tried only "by the laws of his country. It was not in his power, "as a judge, to have condemned Sharp, not cited, un- "heard, undefended, untried. What he could do, he had "done; for he had enjoined Sharp to deſiſt from preach- "ing: But, if this excuſe appeared not ſufficient in the "eyes of his ſovereign, he was ſtill willing to make repa- "ration, and to beg his pardon." The ſubmiſſion con- tained in the laſt part of theſe words created embarraſſment in the court: Lord Rocheſter and the Biſhop of Rocheſter propoſed to accept the Biſhop's ſubmiſſion; but at laſt yielded to their aſſociates, who were of opinion, that he ſhould be ſuſpended during the King's pleaſure. In the courſe of the trial, the Princeſs of Orange, whoſe mar- riage-ceremony Compton had performed, wrote to the King her father in his favour. James reprimanded her for meddling in his affairs.

Sept. 26.

In the mean time, Sunderland took advantage of James's intemperate zeal for his religion, to create a breach which he had probably meditated long between that Prince and his brothers-in-law. He was the more preſſed too to at- tempt it at this time, becauſe, having given a promiſe to

Sunder- land's in- trigues to remove Ro- cheſter.

PART I. BOOK IV. 1686 and 1687.

Tyrconnel to get him appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on a condition of receiving 5000*l.* a-year from Tyrconnel from the revenues of it, that Lord, who was equally furious in private as in public, now threatened to inform the King of the bargain, if the promiſe was not kept. Sunderland pretended to James, that he had reaſon to believe Rocheſter would change his religion, if he was urged to it; and that his apparent reluctance proceeded partly from the meanneſs which he was afraid would ſeem to attend his yielding without conviction, and partly from a deſire to enhance the value of his yielding at laſt. And he adviſed James to aſk Rocheſter to be preſent at a conference and argument between proteſtant and popiſh divines, as the firſt ſtep to his converſion. The King credulouſly made the propoſal to Rocheſter, who, being off his guard, received it with ſigns of averſion and contempt, the conſequences of which he did not attend to at the time. Kings have paſſions as well as their ſubjects: James fired: Rocheſter ſtood firm: They parted with minds irritated againſt each other: Sentiments which ſunk ſo much the deeper, becauſe the one had expreſſed too ſtrongly, and the other had not dared to expreſs what he felt. Rocheſter having imparted this adventure to a few of his friends, they agreed in opinion, that his diſgrace was determined; that the King had choſen this way to finiſh a want of confidence with which, for many months, he had behaved to him; and that it now only remained for him to ſecure an intereſt with the people. Rocheſter, therefore, with all ſpeed, made his apology to the King, pretended he had altered his mind, and agreed to be preſent at a conference of divines. All eyes and ears were intent upon the conſequence of this conference; ſome pitying Rocheſter for being obliged to ſubmit to it; and others inveighing that he had only taken a more refined way than others to pay a compliment, at the expence of his

1686 and 1687.

his own honour, to the King. But Rochester soon relieved the public of its suspense: The conference was hardly begun, when he declared, that the popish arguments had only served to confirm him in the truth of the protestant religion; and then took care it should be spread abroad, that he had incurred the King's indignation for the sentiments he had expressed at the conference. The treasurer's staff was soon after taken from him *.

It was a more easy matter to bring about the removal of Clarendon: Sunderland had taken care to get a standing president appointed to the privy-council of Ireland, in place of the Lord Lieutenant, and powers over the army bestowed upon Tyrconnel the general, independent of this last great officer: Two novelties intended to mortify Clarendon, at the same time that they lessened his power. Innumerable other slights were put upon him. Tyrconnel, by his violence and officiousness, distracted his government †; and then made complaints to the King of the embarrassments which himself had occasioned. These things obliged Clarendon sometimes to oppose the rashness of Tyrconnel; and this was represented in England as opposition to the King's will. From Clarendon's letters, which have been lately published, it appears, he suspected that his letters were not read by Sunderland to his master. In this situation the fate of Rochester naturally drew after it that of his brother. James, however, shewed respect to both, while he removed them from power, bestowing a pension of 4000 *l.* a-year upon Rochester, and of 2000 *l.* ‡ upon Clarendon. Rochester asked leave to go to Spaw for his health. James suspecting that he intended to go to Holland, which was the common place of resort for all those who were discontented in England, answered, "He might go where

* Appendix to this Book. † Clarendon's Letters passim.
‡ Ibid. Jan. 7, 1687-8.

PART I. BOOK IV. 1686 and 1687.

"he pleaſed, provided he paſſed not through Holland." Rocheſter went directly to Spaw, without paying his compliments to the Prince in paſſing; a mark of diſreſpect, which, at an after-period, was remembered againſt him.

Sunderland's ambition diſappointed.

Upon the diſmiſſion of Rocheſter, Sunderland took advantage of the foibles of Petre. He flattered his vanity; he opened vaſt proſpects to his ambition; he prevailed upon James to bring him into the privy-council, and to aſk a cardinal's cap for him from the Pope; and he made an offer to Petre to reſign the ſecretary's ſeals in his favour, if, by their joint intereſt, the treaſurer's ſtaff could be ſecured for Sunderland. Petre heſitated, perhaps overawed by the greatneſs of the object. But Sunderland begged the Queen to aſk the treaſurer's ſtaff for himſelf. She declined. He then aſked it from the King: But James, who knew that Sunderland was not expert in figures, refuſed his conſent: A refuſal of which Sunderland made no complaint, and which, therefore, probably ſunk the deeper into his mind. Yet a point, more important in its conſequences, was gained by Sunderland: Under the pretence, that a cabal of ſeven was too numerous either for expedition or ſecrecy, he prevailed on James to limit it to three, the King, Petre, and himſelf; and to give an order to the ambaſſadors abroad, that all intelligence of conſequence ſhould be communicated to the members of this cabal only: A reſolution, which gave Sunderland the command of all the foreign correſpondence; becauſe the miniſters thought it preſumptuous to write often to the King, and both mean and dangerous to correſpond on the public affairs of England with a Jeſuit.

Attempts upon the poſſeſſions of the church.

After the removal of Lord Rocheſter, the attempts of James, in favour of his religion, were much more open, rapid, and extenſive than they had been before. Hitherto no attempt had been made to bring Roman Catholics into the

the poſſeſſions of the church: But, a few days after Rocheſter was diſmiſſed, the deanery of Chriſt's church at Oxford, a very conſiderable preferment in the church of England, was given *, with a diſpenſation, to Maſſy a late convert: And an attempt † was made to impoſe a Roman Catholic, by means of a ſimilar diſpenſation, upon the Charter-houſe. Soon after, a mandate was iſſued to the univerſity of Cambridge, to give a degree of maſter of arts to Albine Francis, a Benedictine monk: The univerſity refuſed to grant the favour, though they had, a few months before, conferred it upon a Mahometan, who was ſecretary to the ambaſſador of Morocco. Their vice-chancellor was therefore deprived ‡ of his office, and ſuſpended, during pleaſure, from that of maſter of his college. Other attempts were made upon other eſtabliſhments of the church of England, ſome of which were ſucceſsful, and others diſappointed even by thoſe who were the moſt attached to the King: For even Sawyer ‡, the attorney-general, refuſed to draw a warrant for a benefice to a prieſt, and the old and loyal Duke of Ormond, among others, to comply with a mandate, to receive a Roman Catholic in the Charter-houſe. Lord Caſtlemaine was ſent ambaſſador extraordinary to the Pope, though any intercourſe with that pontiff was, by the laws of England, high treaſon; and a pompous account of his public entry, and reception at Rome §, was publiſhed by authority. James gave a ſolemn audience, with a magnificent parade, at the caſtle of Windſor, to a nuncio from the Pope; although the Duke of Somerſet, who was the Lord in waiting, refuſed to attend his duty, and reſigned his place. This ceremony appeared to be an inſult upon the nation, becauſe the nuncio had been long

* Reresby, 233. Appendix to Clarendon, vol. 2. p. 278.
† Carte's Life of Ormond. ‡ State Trials, vol. 3. 708.
§ Gazette, Feb. 7, 1686.

PART I. BOOK IV. 1686 and 1687.

known in a ſecular habit, and as a man of pleaſure about court. Four popiſh Biſhops were publicly conſecrated in the chapel royal: They were ſent to their dioceſes, under the titles of Vicars Apoſtolical; and their paſtoral letters, licenſed and printed by the King's printer, were diſperſed through the kingdom: The popiſh regular clergy were ſeen in all the rooms of the court in the habits of their order: Spectacles againſt which Ronquillo the Spaniſh ambaſſador having warned James, that Prince aſked him, "If it was not the cuſtom in Spain for the Kings "to conſult with their confeſſors?" "Yes," anſwered the ambaſſador, "and for that reaſon our affairs ſuc-"ceed ſo ill." Inferior members of the popiſh clergy * even threatened to ſeize public buildings for the uſes of their religion. A complaint of this kind having been carried to Lord Hallifax by the French proteſtant church in the Savoy, "Let the prieſts," ſaid he †, "turn you "out; for you will the ſooner do your own buſineſs "and the nation's." The treaſury having been put into commiſſion, Lord Bellaſis was placed at the head of it. Tyrconnel was ſent Lord Lieutenant to Ireland. Lord Arundel received the privy-ſeal, another of Clarendon's offices. Many complained, that the King's brothers-in-law, the pillars of the church of England, were ſtripped of their honours to make way for Roman Catholics; but all were ſenſible, that the putting the command of Ireland into the hands of a man ſo violent and raſh as Tyrconnel, would throw that kingdom into confuſion, and make the King odious through all his dominions ‡. Directions were given to the Lords Lieutenant to aſſemble their deputies and the juſtices of peace ‖, and to aſk them, if they would chuſe ſuch members of parliament as would

* Rereſby, 251.
† Life of K. W. v. p. 355.
‡ Rereſby, 237.
‖ Ibid. 251. 256.

conſent

conſent to the abolition of the teſts. Thoſe who refuſed were diſplaced, and papiſts put into their places. This only was wanting to complete the unpopularity of James. Accounts of all theſe changes were publiſhed in the gazette, a paper under the direction of Sunderland, and many of them in terms full of affectation, and which could not fail to provoke the people.

While theſe general alterations ſtruck the eyes of the public, a change which James made in the oath of a privy-counſellor diſcovered to thoſe who were nearer his perſon, the minuteneſs of his attention to the intereſts of popery. The oath of a privy-counſellor contained theſe words: "I ſhall, to my utmoſt, defend all juriſdictions, "pre-eminencies, and authorities, granted to his Majeſty, "and annexed to his crown by act of parliament, or "otherwiſe, againſt all foreign princes, perſons, *prelates*, "ſtates, or potentates." This part of the oath was, by ſpecial order of the King, expunged from the council-book *.

1687. Declaration of indulgence.

Moſt of thoſe things paſſed in the courſe of the year 1686: The reſt in the year 1687. But the laſt of theſe years was ſignalized chiefly by a meaſure which could not fail, either by dividing the proteſtant intereſt, to give James a better chance of ſucceſs in his views, or by uniting it againſt him, to increaſe his difficulties: Suſpending at once, by his own authority, the whole ſyſtem of laws provided by ſo many parliaments againſt nonconformity, he publiſhed a declaration of indulgence in favour of all his ſubjects; by which he not only gave them a full toleration in matters of religion, but diſpenſed with their taking the teſts; and thus laid open all offices to catholics, and ſectaries, and churchmen alike. This act of abſolute power was the more provoking, becauſe the

April 4.

* Books of privy-council, 1, 13, July 1688. The words were replaced at the revolution. Vid. books 16 Feb. 1688.

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PART I. BOOK IV.

1687.

same gazette which published it, contained a prorogation of parliament to a distant period. The experiment of the declaration was first tried in Scotland, upon account of the absurdity and unpopularity of the test in that country, which had brought ruin upon the Earl of Argyle. But the words in which the Scottish declaration was expressed, like those of all the other state-papers drawn by Stuart, were contrived to offend those whom they pretended to oblige: For the declaration bore, that the King had issued it by "his sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and "absolute power, which all his subjects were to obey "without reserve." This declaration was received in Scotland with a sullen disregard: The churchmen and royalists were displeased to see those whom they called fanatics freed from the penal laws; and the presbyterian party remonstrated to each other: "The declaration was "specious and liberal, indeed, to appearance, but hol-"low and designing at the bottom: For, under pretence "of showing indulgence to nonconformists, it was "only meant to procure it for Roman Catholics. They "had already felt the severity of the Duke of York's "administration against their religion. What had so sud-"denly reconciled him to their interests? Had what was "called the former rebellion of their friends, or their own "late opposition in parliament, gained favour in his eyes? "Such actions were not calculated to gain the friendship "of Kings. Favours offered voluntarily by enemies "were always suspicious; but they were doubly so, when "pressed upon those who were not asking them." The privy-council was almost the only public body * which paid compliments to James's spirit of toleration. But these compliments discovered to the wise, that only the King's servants yielded to the King's sentiments. In England, the dissenters were so weak as to be caught in

Feb. 12. 1686-7.

* Gazette, March 3, 1686-7.

the

the snare, and made advances to form connections with the crown *.

1687.

James, improving upon these advances, endeavoured, by raising jealousies between the dissenters and the church, to procure concessions from both; from the former in hopes of keeping, and from the latter, of regaining his favour. For this purpose, addresses in favour of protestant dissenters were encouraged, and favourable answers given to them: Plans were received and digested at court for their security: The court language was, that the King's intentions to shew favour to the dissenters had hitherto been prevented from taking effect, by the severity and pride of the church of England. In order to expose the rigour of that church, James gave orders † to make a scrutiny into all the vexatious suits which had been brought in the ecclesiastical courts against dissenters. By his orders ‡, the common councils of London, and of many other corporations ‖, were filled with dissenters. The justices of peace and deputy lieutenants were changed almost all over the kingdom; and in the Gazette §, it was avowed by government, that this was done to gain security for the declaration of indulgence. James's common conversation, and his public papers, contained expressions of the greatest cordiality to those of that denomination. Many can bear the frowns of Kings. But their smiles are more irresistible. The dissenters of England in general were ripe for attaching themselves to the party of the King.

James fows jealousies between the church and dissenters.

This new state of party was beginning to be attended with the consequences which James had foreseen. Animosities daily arose between the zealots of the church of

* Sir John Reresby. † Gazette, March 1, 1687. et passim.

‡ Sir John Reresby. Books of privy-council, 24 September, 10 February, 1687. ‖ There are innumerable instances of these changes in the books of privy-council from November 1687, till June 1688.

§ Gazette, December 12, 1687.

England,

PART I. BOOK IV.

1687. England, and of the diſſenters; the former upbraiding their proteſtant brethren with their deſertion of the proteſtant cauſe, and the latter reminding the church of England of her paſt rigours, and inſulting her preſent miſfortunes. Of all the meaſures taken by James, this gave the greateſt alarm and uneaſineſs to thoſe who were reſolved to oppoſe his innovations. The beſt writers of the proteſtant party, therefore, employed themſelves in publications to ſtop the growth of the evil, particularly Lord Halifax, and Burnet, the facility of whoſe ſtyle and imagination was more ſuited to the looſeneſs of pamphlet-writing, than to the preciſion, impartiality, and dignity of hiſtory. To the church of England they held forth, "the "neceſſity of forgetting paſt injuries between the church "and diſſenters, and of uniting for future defence againſt "their common enemies the Roman Catholics." They warned the diſſenters, "the royal favour, with which "they were blinded, could not be ſincere, or long-lived, "which had been conferred upon them, only becauſe the "church of England would not receive it on the terms "of making conceſſions to popery, and of which that "church could ſtrip them in an inſtant, by yielding to "thoſe terms."

The knowledge of the human mind is beſt learnt from hiſtory. That mind often deceives itſelf, when we think it means to deceive others. The King, in his letters of application to the Prince of Orange, for the protection of ſome monks who were afraid of being perſecuted in Holland, expreſſed ſentiments of toleration worthy of Antoninus *, and perhaps he believed himſelf ſincere when he did ſo; and yet at the very ſame time he was congratulating Louis the XIVth at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, for his perſecution of the Huguenots.

* Appendix to this Book.

While

1687.

While James was purſuing ſo many imprudent and dangerous meaſures, he was, by the frivolouſneſs of public addreſſes, lulled into a fatal ſecurity, from which he was awaked only by the noiſe of his own ruin. Not only all the different bodies of the diſſenters thanked him for his declaration of indulgence; but five biſhops, at the head of their clergy, the body of lawyers, the city of London, and great numbers of other public bodies of the church of England, followed the example. Although almoſt every individual in the nation was inflamed againſt the King, and moſt of thoſe who were founded * by his orders, declared they would not comply in parliament with his meaſures; yet almoſt all public bodies appeared to be in tranſports with his conduct †.

James blinded by addreſſes.

Amidſt James's projects about religion, he neglected not his temporal intereſts. He adopted that project of ſimplifying government, and of reducing all buſineſs to the perſon of the ſovereign, which every Prince ſince the world began, who has aimed at arbitrary power, has endeavoured to carry into execution. When he put the treaſury into commiſſion, he declared to the privy-council, that he did it, becauſe too much power was committed to the high treaſurer; and, at the ſame time, he declared, that, for the ſame reaſon, the offices of general and admiral were, in due time, to be exerciſed by himſelf only ‡. James ſtretched his views of ſubjecting all things to his will, even beyond the Atlantic: For he ordered *quo warrantos* to be iſſued, to forfeit all

The King's ideas of government.

* Reresby, 257. † The Gazettes of the year 1687 and 1688, are full of thoſe addreſſes. James was ſo fond of them, that he received one from the company of cooks, in which they ſaid, "that the declaration "of indulgence reſembled the Almighty's manna, which ſuited every "man's *palate*;" and, "that men's different *guſtos* might as well be forced "as their different apprehenſions about religion." Gazette, Nov. 4.

‡ Books of privy-council, Jan. 7, 1686.

PART I. BOOK IV.

the charters of the proprietors and corporations in America *.

1687. Attempt on Magdalene college.

In times of high paſſion, the public attention is more engroſſed by particular exertions of power, than by the general and important regulations which it eſtabliſhes. An act of royal power againſt one of the colleges of Oxford, united the church, and friends of liberty againſt the King, and ſuſpended the advances of the diſſenters.

April 11. James iſſued a mandate, with a diſpenſation to Magdalene college in Oxford, a foundation extremely rich, to chuſe one Farmer, who had promiſed to become catholic, preſident of the college. Farmer happened to be, by the ſtatutes of the foundation, under ſeveral diſabilities, which the fellows could not get over without breaking their oaths to the ſtatutes of their founders. The fellows, therefore, in a petition, repreſented their difficulties to the King, begged him to recal the mandate, and offered to chuſe any other qualified † perſon he pleaſed. The anſwer returned by Lord Sunderland was, that the King expected obedience to his will. The fellows waited the King's further pleaſure, until the laſt day on which they were limited by their ſtatutes to elect, and then choſe Dr. Hough, a man of high character, and of higher ſpirit, who was immediately confirmed by the Biſhop of Wincheſter, viſitor of the college, and inſtalled. For this contumacy, the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion puniſhed Hough by deprivation, and two of the fellows by ſuſpenſion: But they refuſed to ſubmit to the ſentence, and continued in the exerciſe of their offices, upon this ground, that their ſet-

June 22.

* This important order is to be found in the books of privy-council, May 28, 1687. The Engliſh ſubjects of America, who complain of their ſufferings under the preſent reign, may compare that order with the meaſures of a very different nature which another Prince has tried to pacify and reclaim them.

† State Trials, v. 3. p. 718.

tlements

tlements in the college were their freeholds, beſtowed upon them by the will of their founder, and of which, therefore, they could not be deprived, unleſs by a common trial at law. In order to avoid the queſtion concerning the ſtatutory diſabilities under which Farmer laboured, James, ſoon after, iſſued a new mandate to the fellows, to elect Parker, Biſhop of Oxford, for their preſident; a man who had written a book in defence of the King's project of diſpenſing with the teſts. The fellows made anſwer, that the place was full by the election of Dr. Hough. James went to Oxford, in a progreſs he was making through the weſtern parts of his kingdom, ſent for the fellows, upbraided them with their diſobedience, and commanded them forthwith to depart from his preſence, and elect Biſhop Parker. His laſt words to them were, "that otherwiſe they ſhould feel the weight "of his hand." They retired to their chapel, and there reſolved to prefer their duty to the laws, to the will of their ſovereign. James perceived too late the falſe ſtep he had made, in expoſing his authority to the affront of a perſonal refuſal, and in making altercations between a King of England and the fellows of a college, the ſubject of diſpute among boys; and abruptly left Oxford. A deputation of the college followed him to Bath, with ſome general but unmeaning aſſurances of their loyalty and obedience. James, fretted with them, and with himſelf, gave directions to bring the matter to a compromiſe: The fellows liſtened to a treaty, in order to keep up the attention of the public, and to give importance to themſelves: But, in the end, encouraged by a party, and flattered with the applauſes of the youth, they refuſed to make any conceſſions. The King had gone too far to retreat with honour, or to proceed without loſs of popularity: He allowed two months to paſs over, and then ſent a new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, as viſitors, to Oxford, to ter-

1687. Sept. 4.

PART I. BOOK IV.

1687.

minate a diſpute which, by the variety of its incidents, was continually becoming more and more ſerious. The new commiſſioners entered a town of gownſmen, ſurrounded with three troops of horſe. Doctor Hough was aſked by the Biſhop of Cheſter, preſident of the court, if he would ſubmit to the former ſentence of deprivation? He anſwered, he would not; and, with great intrepidity, aſſerted the rights of the college, and defended his own. The King's proctor, upon this, accuſed him of contumacy; and the court ſtruck his name out of the college-book. The fellows were next aſked, if they would aſſiſt at the inſtalment of the Biſhop of Oxford? All but two refuſed. Hough proteſted againſt the proceedings of the commiſſion, and appealed to the courts of law in Weſtminſter-hall. A low but firm murmur of applauſe, the genuine and inſuppreſſible voice of Engliſh liberty, was heard from every part of the hall, in which almoſt the whole univerſity was aſſembled. The court, however, cauſed the doors of the preſident's lodgings to be broken open, and inſtalled the Biſhop of Oxford by proxy. The Biſhop of Cheſter then intimidated the fellows by threats in public, and ſoothed them by promiſes in private. They who had withſtood the frown of the ſovereign of the nation, were not able to withſtand the authority of a ſuperior of their own order: A paper was ſigned by them in theſe words: "That, ſince the King had cauſed the "Biſhop of Oxford to be inſtalled, they ſubmitted to "him, ſo far as was lawful, and agreeable to the ſtatutes "of the college, and not prejudicial to the right of Doc-"tor Hough." The Biſhop, having brought them thus far, thought he was ſure of making his victory complete, and inſiſted, that they ſhould ſign a paper, acknowledging their offence, and begging pardon of the King. By this frivolous demand, he loſt the effect of what he had formerly gained. The fellows, aſhamed of their late conceſſion,

conceſſion, obſerving their credit likely to ſink with their old friends, and that they could never expect to find any with a party which thus inſiſted upon their debaſing themſelves, refuſed, explained away what they had formerly done, and, in the end, retracted it. The court, embarraſſed by this ſudden turn, ſtopped and returned to London. But the King ſoon after ſent them back to Oxford, where they admitted ſome new fellows by their own authority alone. Then calling for the fellows of the college, the commiſſioners inſiſted that, before they quitted the room, they ſhould ſign a paper of the ſame tenour with the paper which the Biſhop of Cheſter had formerly preſented to them. The fellows, willing to prolong the matter, aſked time to conſider, and to give their anſwer in writing; but met with a refuſal. All of them, near thirty in number, except two who profeſſed obedience, were deprived, and declared incapable of church-preferment for the future. Others were placed in their ſtead by authority of the King. And to theſe, upon the death of the Biſhop of Oxford, which happened ſoon after, a mandate was iſſued to elect Gifford for their preſident, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, titular Biſhop of Madura, and one of the four Vicars Apoſtolical of England. Theſe diſputes the more engaged the paſſions of the Engliſh, becauſe the attack upon the college, affecting the conſtitution and freehold of the members, was conſidered to be an invaſion of property, as well as of religion.

1687.

Oct. 27.

Nov. 16.

But the paſſions of the nation were, a few months after, in the ſpring of the year 1688, transferred to an object more important and more affecting: For James, ruſhing with precipitancy upon his ruin, publiſhed a new declaration of indulgence, and commanded all the clergy to read it in the churches. This general command brought matters to a point between the King and the church; becauſe it was obvious, if the clergy read the proclamation, that

1688.

April 27.

Biſhops petition.

PART I. BOOK IV.

1688.

that their order would become contemptible to their hearers; and, if they disobeyed, that they would be obnoxious to the pains of the new commission-courts. In this delicate situation, between the danger of offending the King, or of losing the people, almost all the clergy preferred their honour, and their duty, to the King's favour; and resolved not to read the declaration. Six of the Bishops, Loyd of St. Asaph, Kenne of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chicester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawny of Bristol, met with Archbishop Sancroft, at his palace at Lambeth, to consult concerning common measures. One or two divines *, together with Lord Clarendon, were the only other persons privy to this consultation. The Bishops framed the following decent and soothing, but firm petition to the King: And six of them, the Archbishop being sick, delivered it in

May 18. person to him: "Humbly sheweth, that the great averse-
"ness they find in themselves to the distributing and pub-
"lishing in all their churches your Majesty's late decla-
"ration for liberty of conscience, proceeds neither from
"any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty (our
"holy mother the Church of England, being both in
"her principles and constant practice unquestionably
"loyal, and having, to her honour, been more than once
"publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majes-
"ty), nor yet from any want of tenderness to dissenters,
"in relation to whom, we are willing to come to such
"a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall
"be considered and settled in parliament and convoca-
"tion; but among many other considerations, from this
"especially, because that declaration is founded upon
"such a dispensing power, as hath been often declared
"illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662
"and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign;

* Clarendon's Diary, May 12.

"and

" and in a matter of ſo great moment, and conſequence " to the whole nation, both in church and ſtate, your pe- " titioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conſcience, " ſo far make themſelves parties to it, as the diſtribution " of it all over the nation, and the ſolemn publication of " it once again, even in God's houſe, and in the time of " divine ſervice, muſt amount to, in common and reaſon- " able conſtruction.

" Your petitioners, therefore, moſt humbly and ear- " neſtly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be pleaſed " not to inſiſt upon their diſtributing and reading your " ſaid declaration."

James read the petition, and made the following anſwer: " I have heard of this before, but did not believe " it. I did not expect this from the church of England, " eſpecially from ſome of you. If I change my mind, " you ſhall hear from me; if not, I expect my command " ſhall be obeyed." The Biſhops replied, " We reſign " ourſelves to the will of God;" bowed, and retired.

Although Sancroft had the precaution to write the petition with his own hand, leſt a copy might be taken; yet, from the infidelity of thoſe who ſurrounded the King, printed copies of the petition were diſperſed all over London, the ſame night it was preſented. All men, therefore, ſaw, that the conteſt was now brought to a criſis between James and the church: For the Biſhops, by intereſting their " prudence, honour, and conſcience," in the diſpute, had put it out of their power to draw back; and James, by his continual repetition of the neceſſity of obedience in ſubjects, had obliged himſelf to go forward. He took, however, three weeks to conſider of the proſpect before him. The nation, believing that their own fate, and the fate of their poſterity, was depending, waited the event with impatience and anxiety.

PART I. BOOK IV.

1688.

At last the Bishops were called to appear before the privy-council: They were asked, "If they owned their "petition?" A question, which was become necessary, because, without their acknowledgment, it was difficult to prove that they had delivered the petition: They declined to answer the question; a refusal which embarrassed the council. They were ordered to withdraw. Upon their return, they still declined to answer, which continued the embarrassment. But, at length, reflecting, that it was the more manly part to avow to the council what they were resolved to defend to the world, they owned the paper. Jeffreys asked them, if they would give recognizances to appear before the court of King's bench, to stand trial for their misdemeanour. With a view to engage the Peers in their quarrel, they insisted upon their privilege of peerage, and refused to find bail. Jeffreys menaced them with the tower, and the King's indignation. They answered, "That they were willing to go wherever "the King pleased; for that the King of Kings was their "protector and judge." They were committed to the tower, all the privy-counsellors signing the warrant, except Father Petre, who by the King's command was excused. Jeffreys *, who foresaw the consequences of this prosecution, advised the King against it. But there is reason to believe, that Sunderland promoted it, while underhand he exhorted the Bishops to stand firm.

June 8. They appear before the council.

They are sent to the tower.

Directions were given to carry the Bishops, by water, to the tower, in order to prevent the emotions which a sight of their sufferings, in their passage through the city, might raise in the people. But the people rushed in innumerable crowds to the river, to wait for them, covering the banks on both sides, and filling the rooms, and even roofs of all the adjoining houses. They set up a

* Clarendon's Diary, June 14 and 27.

shout

ſhout of acclamation, when the Biſhops were firſt diſcovered at a diſtance; ſhed tears, and offered prayers for their deliverance, when they approached; threw themſelves with reverence on the ground as they paſſed; and ſtill with their eyes followed the barges when diſappearing. The contagion caught even the ſoldiers: They kneeled, and aſked the bleſſings of thoſe priſoners whom they were appointed to guard. When the Biſhops arrived at the tower, it was the hour of evening ſervice. The bell tolled; the clergyman was entering the chapel; and the people flocking into it. They embraced the omen, and repaired inſtantly to church, to return their thanks to that God, in whoſe cauſe, they believed, they were ſuffering.

June 29. The trial.

They were brought to their trial in the court of King's bench: The crime charged againſt them was, "the framing and publiſhing a ſeditious, falſe, and malicious libel, againſt the King's prerogative and government, under the pretence of preſenting a petition to the King." Twenty-nine Peers, with a great number of divines and commoners of rank, attended them to their trial; tories and whigs vying with each other who ſhould do them moſt honour. The populace, who aſſembled in expectation of the event, were more numerous than ever had been ſeen together in England. Their acclamations, proceeding from animation and anger, were more violent and more continued, than thoſe which had been heard when the Biſhops were paſſing to the tower; becauſe they were not broken by the varying paſſions of grief and uncertainty. The priſoners received theſe honours with affection and humility. In diſtributing their benedictions, they exhorted the people to repreſs their zeal, and to honour and obey the King: A generoſity which increaſed the public reſentment againſt him who was the cauſe of their ſufferings. When the judges entered the court,

PART I. BOOK IV. 1688.

they found it filled with men and women of the first rank. The arguments of the Bishops council, particularly of Mr. Somers, who owed his future fortune to the character he gained in this trial, were received by the audience with a favour proportioned to the aversion with which those of the prosecutors were heard. They argued, "As "Peers, it was the right of the Bishops to give counsel "to the King: As prelates, it was their duty to attend "to the interests of that religion which was committed "to their charge. They had not invaded the King's "*prerogative*, by remonstrating against the dispensing "power; for the King had no such prerogative: The "petition could not be *seditious*, for it was presented to "the King in private, and to him only; nor *false*, for "the matter of it was true; nor *malicious*, for the occa- "sion was not sought by them, but pressed upon them; it "was not a *libel*, for the intention was innocent, and the "subject has leave, by law, to petition his Prince when "he thinks himself aggrieved; it was not *published*, for "the Archbishop had not trusted even the writing of the "petition to a clerk, and the Bishops could give no copy, "because they had none." Two of the judges, Lord Chief Justice Wright and Allybone, gave their opinions to the jury against the prisoners; the other two, Powel and Holloway, declared their sentiments in their favour. The jury kept themselves inclosed all night, in order to give the more solemnity to their proceedings, and, in the morning returned their verdict, that the prisoners were not guilty. The verdict was received with a shout in the court *, which was answered by one from the multitude in the palace-yard, and, almost in an instant, by a thousand shouts from different parts of the town. These were continued from village to village, till they reached

* Lord Clarendon, who was present, says it almost made the roof crack. Diary, June 30.

the

the army incamped on Hounſlow-heath, which was ſeized with the ſame ſympathetic tranſport. The King happened that day to be in Lord Feverſham's tent, and hearing the camp in an uproar, ſent Feverſham to enquire into the cauſe: He returned, and reported, "It was nothing "but the joy of the ſoldiers for the diſcharge of the "Biſhops."—"Nothing!" ſaid the King, "do you "call that nothing? But ſo much the worſe for them" (meaning the Biſhops). He returned immediately to town, and iſſued a proclamation, forbidding the populace to aſſemble in the ſtreets. The reſtraint increaſed their zeal; and the city was lighted up by bone-fires and illuminations. Some perſons were tried for diſorders committed that evening; but the juries acquitted them *, though often ſent back by the judges to reconſider their verdicts. 1688. July 12.

Soon after the trial of the Biſhops, Powel and Holloway were ſtruck off the liſt of judges, and the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion iſſued an order † for returning the names of all thoſe clergymen who had refuſed to read the King's declaration of indulgence, in order that proſecutions might be directed againſt them; impotent marks of revenge and obſtinacy. But ſoon after, the Biſhop of Rocheſter ‡, who obſerved how the current ran, having written a letter to the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, deſiring to be excuſed from attending it any longer, it met no more.

Diſpoſitions of the army.

Finding the civil and eccleſiaſtical courts inſufficient for the accompliſhment of his will, James gave orders to ſound the different regiments at Blackheath, if they would ſtand by him in the abrogation of the teſts. The major of Litchfield's regiment made a ſpeech to the ſoldiers, and ordered all thoſe to lay down their arms who would not comply with their ſovereign's deſire. The whole re-

* Reresby, p. 265. † Gazette, July 12. ‡ Biſhop of Rocheſter's Letters to Lord Dorſet.

PART I. BOOK IV. 1688.

giment, except a few, threw their arms upon the ground. The King was on the field. He was ſtruck motionleſs at the ſight. But, after ſome pauſe, he ordered them to take up their muſkets, and ſaid, with a ſullen ambiguity, "That he would do them the honour to aſk their advice "another time." Experience ſhould have taught him how little his military force was to be depended upon in matters of religion. For the year before, Admiral Strickland, who was a papiſt, having directed the prieſts to ſay maſs on board his ſhip, the ſeamen, a claſs of men not famous in England for attention to religious controverſy, roſe in a mutiny, and inſiſted to throw the prieſts overboard. Strickland proceeded to ſeverity: The ſeverity added rage to mutiny; and both flew from ſhip to ſhip. The King was obliged to repair to Portſmouth, to pacify the ſeamen. He in vain called them his children and old friends. Though more eaſily affected with conceſſions, and with kindneſs of expreſſion, than other men, it was impoſſible to ſatisfy them until the prieſts were removed from all the ſhips *.

July 13, 1687.

Birth of the Prince of Wales.

Paſſions of the people.

During the proſecution of the Biſhops, the Queen was brought to bed of a ſon. Rumours were immediately ſpread, and, as men eaſily believe what they wiſh, were greedily received, that the birth was an impoſture. Many falſehoods were invented and circulated to increaſe the ſuſpicion; and, according to the nature of credulity, in times of high paſſion, the moſt improbable were the moſt believed. Even men of ſenſe and of candour ſeemed to have loſt their ſuperiority of mind in the prejudices of the vulgar. The vulgar even fell below their ordinary deficiency of common underſtanding: They believed, that the fireworks, prepared in honour of the Prince of Wales's birth, were intended to bombard the city, in revenge for their rejoicings upon the deliver-

* Sir John Reresby, 265.

ance

ance of the Biſhops. And as men in terror are prone to ſuperſtition, the ſky happening, on the night of the fire-works, to be alternately obſcured by clouds, and inflamed by lightnings, they cried out, "That this was an ex-"preſſion of the Almighty's indignation againſt the im-"poſture put upon the proteſtant heirs to the throne." Few reflected how unlikely it was, that James ſhould ſtifle the voice of nature, to injure his daughters, who had never injured him. It was ſaid, "That one who had "broken faith with his God in changing his religion, "and with his people in invading the conſtitution, was "become inſenſible to all the ties of nature."

APPENDIX

TO

BOOKS III. and IV.

UPON the defeat of Monmouth's rebellion, King James became intoxicated with his proſperity. Inſtead of diſbanding his army he encamped it on Hounſlow-heath, and reſolved to make it the great inſtrument of his power.

Barillon's diſpatches are ſtrewn thick with the expreſſions of an arbitrary diſpoſition, which flew from James when he felt himſelf no longer under any control.

The rebellion was no ſooner begun than Barillon in his letter of the 25th of June 1685, informed his court of the uſe which James was to make of it. The words of the diſpatch are: "It ſeems to me that the King of England is very glad to have a pretence for raiſing troops, and he believes that the Duke of Monmouth's enterpriſe will ſerve only to make him ſtill more maſter of his country."

On the 30th July 1685, Barillon writes thus to his court: "The King of England's ſcheme is, to aboliſh the militia entirely, the uſeleſſneſs and danger of which he found on this laſt occaſion, and if poſſible to make the parliament apply the fund intended for the militia, to maintain the regular troops. All this entirely changes the ſtate of this country, and puts the Engliſh in a different condition from what they have been in till now. They know it, and perceive very well that a King of a different religion from that of the country, and who is armed, will not eaſily renounce thoſe advantages which the

the defeat of the rebels, and the troops he has on foot, give him."

On the 6th of Aug. 1685, Barillon writes to his court thus: "The King of England told me, that let what would happen he would keep the troops on foot, even though the parliament ſhould not give him any thing towards their maintenance. He knows very well the parliament will very unwillingly ſee this eſtabliſhment; but he wants to be ſure of himſelf at home, and believes he cannot be ſo without it."

On the 8th of July 1686, Barillon writes, "He careſſes the officers much, and explains himſelf openly enough, that he will keep none but thoſe on whom he may entirely depend."

King James could not conceal even from the Prince of Orange the pleaſure which he felt from the encampment of his army at Hounſlow.

King James to the Prince of Orange.

Windſor, June 29.

"ALL the troops I intended to have at Hounſlow are now camped there, in the new camp I deſigned they ſhould be; they continue very healthy there, having been but four buried ſince the firſt campaign of the foot upon that heath. I was there yeſterday and ſaw them for the firſt time in battalle altogether; they are all good men, and the horſe and dragoons well mounted, and all very orderly. To-morrow the Queen's and my daughter are to dine with me at the camp."

On the 29th of October 1685, Barillon writes to his court: "He (James) added, that his deſign was to make the parliament revoke the Teſt Act, and the Habeas Corpus Act; one of which was the deſtruction of the Catholic religion, and the other of the royal authority."

On

On the 10th December 1685, Barillon repreſents the ſentiments both of Charles and James upon the habeas corpus act, that great charter of Engliſh liberty: "The deceaſed King of England, and the preſent one, have often ſaid to me, that a government could not ſubſiſt with ſuch a law."

James had the idea of converting even his fleet into an inſtrument of his power at home. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 19th December 1686: "The King of England continues to carry on the refitting of his ſhips with diligence. There is no appearance that this is deſigned for a foreign war; but he is perſuaded, that it is very neceſſary for his intereſts to put the marine of England in a better ſtate than it was, and that he ſhall much ſooner gain what he deſires from his people, when they ſee he has an army and fleet ready to make himſelf obeyed at home, and to prevent the factious from receiving any conſiderable aſſiſtance from abroad, if affairs ſhould come to the point of an open rupture in England."

On the 29th July 1686, Barillon writes to his court, "The King of England openly ſhews his joy at finding himſelf in a condition to ſtrike bold and authoritative ſtrokes. He receives with pleaſure the compliments which are made him upon it. He has ſpoken much to me about it, and given me to underſtand that he will not relax."

Lord Rocheſter ſaw too late the conſequences of the doctrine of the King's independence upon parliament, with which he had flattered him in the firſt months of his reign; and wiſhed, but in vain, to repair the miſchief. Barillon, on the 11th March 1686, relates a converſation between the King and Lord Rocheſter on this head: Rocheſter ſaid, "That he (i. e. Rocheſter) always thought a King of England was much more conſiderable, and much more happy, when he was upon a good footing with

he could draw from them what ſupplies he ſtood in need of." His Britannic Majeſty anſwered, "That he was of opinion, the parliament of England would be more ſubmiſſive, and more diſpoſed to behave well, when they ſaw that, without their aſſiſtance, ſo many matters of importance could be effectuated; and that his reſolution was, not to reign precariouſly."

Barillon, in his letter of 29th November 1685, to his court, deſcribes thus the external manner of James, when he prorogued his parliament. "This Prince gave his anſwer likewiſe with marks of haughtineſs and anger upon his face, which made his ſentiments ſufficiently be known."

There is in King William's Cabinet, the following letter from the King to the Prince of Orange upon this prorogation.

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Complains of parliament.

Whitehall, December 1, 1685.

"I HAVE had yours of the 4th, in which you write to me about your concerns of Orange. I had this day an account from Sir William Trumbull, that he had ſpoken to Monſieur de Croiſſy about it, according to his orders, and I ſhall by the next order him to inſiſt, and preſs it ſtill, and will alſo ſpeak this night to Mr. Barillon about it, and will continue doing my part that you may have ſatisfaction. I am as ſorry as you can be, that I was obliged to prorogue the parliament; I hope when they meet next, they will be in better temper, and conſider the true intereſt of the nation, and not be deceived by ſome ill men who fill their ears with fears and jealouſies. As for news, Lord Brandon received his ſentence

on Saturday laſt, and was to have been executed on Friday, but I have reprieved him, upon his having petitioned me for my mercy, and acknowledged his crimes."

The King's zeal for popery kept pace with his attempts to arbitrary power. Barillon writes to his court, on the 30th April 1685, that James had deſired the Lords Sunderland, Godolphin, and Rocheſter to attend him to the door of his chapel, where he was to go with his guards and officers of his court; that the two firſt conſented, but the laſt refuſed.

It is probable that Lord Sunderland, even from the beginning, adopted his maſter's ſentiments in favour of popery. There is in the Depot the following diſpatch on this ſubject, ſo early as the month of July 1685.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Monſ. de Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Lord Sunderland engaged thoroughly in the intereſts of popery.

July 16, 1685.

"LORD Sunderland has entered very far with me, and appears to be informed to the bottom of what has paſſed between the King of England and myſelf upon the ſubject of the Catholic religion. This miniſter ſaid to me, I do not know if they ſee things in France as they are here, but I defy thoſe who ſee them near, not to know that the King, my maſter, has nothing ſo much at heart, as to eſtabliſh the Catholic religion; that he cannot, even according to good ſenſe and right reaſon, have any other end; that without it he will never be in ſafety, and always expoſed to the indiſcreet zeal of thoſe who will heat the people

people againſt the Catholic religion as long as it is not fully eſtabliſhed. There is another thing certain, which is, that this plan cannot ſucceed but by a ſtrict concert and union with the King, your maſter; it is a project which is ſuitable only to him, and which cannot ſucceed but through him; all the other powers will openly oppoſe it, or counteract it under hand. It is well known that it is not ſuitable to the Prince of Orange, but he will not be in a condition to hinder it, if they conduct themſelves in France as is neceſſary; that is to ſay, if they manage the King of England's friendſhip, and ſupport him in his deſign.

I ſee clearly the apprehenſion many people have of an alliance with France, and the efforts they make to weaken it; but that will not be in the power of any one, if France does her part; it is upon this you muſt explain yourſelf clearly, and make it known that the King, your maſter, will ſincerely aſſiſt the King of England in eſtabliſhing the Catholic religion firmly here."

In this diſpatch Barillon repeats the following expreſſions of King James to him, "That he had been brought up in France, and eat of your Majeſty's bread, and that his heart was French."

On the 26th March 1686, Barillon gives his court the following account of the council of ſeven, mentioned in the Memoirs to which the preſent papers are an Appendix. "The Earl of Powis has been joined to the other Catholic Lords, whom the King of England conſults, and who often meet at Lord Sunderland's to deliberate upon matters that offer; it is a ſort of council, independent of any other, and in which the moſt important reſolutions are taken; that is to ſay, thoſe which relate to religion."

In King William's Cabinet there are the two following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, which,

if not contradicted by other evidence, would do honour to his ſpirit of toleration.

King James to the Prince of Orange, Jan. 15th, 1686.— Intreats him to give protection to regular Prieſts in Holland.

"I MUST now write to you about an affair, which, as a Chriſtian, and one who is concerned for you, I could not omit doing; it is to deſire you to hinder, by your authority, the baniſhing out of Rotterdam, and other towns in Holland, the regular Prieſts, I mean the Monks, Friars, and Jeſuits; ſince it will not only be a great hardſhip to the poor Catholics, but will be a real prejudice to your trade and commerce by driving out ſo many as will leave the country, if they cannot have the regulars with them, and that will certainly be the conſequence if the regulars be ſent away: and methinks that though in France the Huguenots are ſo ſeverely dealt with, that ſhould not make you in Holland follow ſuch an example, which muſt be really prejudicial to the true intereſt of your government. I could ſay much more on this ſubject, but have not time."

James the IId to the Prince of Orange.——Pleaſed that the Prince has ſaved the Prieſts.——The King's ſpirit of toleration.

Whitehall, January 26, 1686.

"I HAVE received yours of the 30th, in anſwer to one I had written to you concerning the regular Prieſts, and am very glad to find by it that they will not be ſent away, and hope you will ſtill continue of the ſame mind,

mind, and do eaſily believe you are not for proſecuting any merely for their religion: I always was, and will be of that mind; and am of your opinion, that it was the very hard uſage the Huguenots had, and have ſtill in France, which made that affair of the regulars be talked on where you are, and hope, as to that, you will continue of the ſame mind you are."

But men oft-times deceive themſelves. While James was boaſting of theſe ſentiments of toleration to the Prince of Orange, he was congratulating the French on the want of it, in revoking the edict of Nantes. Barillon writes thus to his court on the 4th October 1685: "His Britannic Majeſty alſo heard with pleaſure, what I told him of the wonderful progreſs with which God had bleſſed your Majeſty's cares with regard to the converſion of your ſubjects; there being no example of a ſimilar thing happening at any time, or in any country, with ſo much promptitude. His Britannic Majeſty believes, that ſo important a work will not remain imperfect, and that God will grant you the favour to finiſh it entirely." And on the 18th Auguſt 1686, Barillon writes thus: "Mr. Adda (that is, the Pope's Nuncio) has communicated to the King of England what the Pope ſaid in the conſiſtory upon the ſubject of your Majeſty; and what you have done to extirpate hereſy in France. His Britannic Majeſty ſpoke of it as a thing that gave him great pleaſure."

Barillon, in his diſpatch of the 1ſt July 1686, repreſents thus the ſentiments of James upon the diſappointment which the oppoſition of the Scotch parliament, in matters of religion, had given him: "The King of England told me, that the affairs of Scotland had not taken the

the turn he at firſt expected, and that the factious cabal had hindered the well-intentioned from doing what was reaſonable, and what they had reſolved upon; that nevertheleſs he ſhould draw a great advantage from knowing the true deſigns of both; and by the authority which the laws give him, he could eſtabliſh in Scotland that liberty in favour of the Catholics which the parliament refuſed to grant."

In this diſpatch Barillon relates, that the Scotch who oppoſed in parliament James's ſchemes about religion, ſaid, "That they muſt by refuſing to ſell their God, wipe off the reproach of having ſold their King."

In the year 1686, James broke the Duke of Queenſberry's proteſtant miniſtry in Scotland, and filled that of Lord Clarendon in Ireland with papiſts. In King William's Cabinet there is the following intimation of this ſtep by the King to the Prince.

King James to the Prince of Orange.——Changes made in Scotland and Ireland.

Whitehall, March 2, 1686.

"I HAD not time to tell you the laſt poſt of ſome alterations I have made in Scotland, having put the Treaſury into commiſſion, and made the Duke of Gordon maſter of the caſtle of Edinburgh, both which I thought very neceſſary for my ſervice; and now that Lord Clarendon is ſettled in Ireland, am going to make a new Chancellor, and to change ſome of the Judges in that kingdom."

King James, at length, in December 1686, avowed his intention of obſerving ceremony no longer in favour of his religion, by diſmiſſing Lord Rocheſter, who had refuſed to be converted by a conference between popiſh and proteſtant divines. Barillon, in his letter of the 12th December 1686, deſcribes thus the ſtate of men's minds while the iſſue of that conference was in ſuſpenſe: "This affair is ſo important, and ought to have conſequences ſo conſiderable, that it keeps all others in ſuſpenſe."

BOOK V.

THE Nation turns its Eyes to the Prince of Orange.—— Situation of the Prince, and of Holland, in the year 1688, relative to other Nations.——The Prince's Movements in England.——His ſecret Preparations in Holland.—— His Public Preparations.——James kept long in the Dark.——At laſt receives Intelligence of the intended Invaſion.——Offers of France to aſſiſt him.——Officers caſhiered for refuſing Popiſh Recruits.——James makes Advances to the Church.——His Preparations.——His Negotiations with the States.——Differences in the Prince's Engliſh Councils.——The Prince publiſhes his Declaration.——His Followers publiſh other Papers.—— Interview of James with the Biſhops.——Inquiry into the Birth of the Prince of Wales.——The Prince of Orange detained by Croſs-winds.——State of Men's Minds in this Interval.

DURING a ſucceſſion of ſuch diſagreeable meaſures, almoſt all eyes in Britain were turned towards the Prince of Orange, whoſe conſort, the Lady Mary, was the next

The nation turns its eyes to the Prince of Orange.

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

next heir to the Crown, and a Proteſtant, and who was himſelf the preſerver of his own country, the head of the Proteſtant intereſt in Chriſtendom, and the aſſertor of the liberties of Europe, in oppoſition to that power which was the hereditary enemy of England. The whigs were willing to ſeize liberty under any leader; and the tories deemed it not incompatible with their principles of obedience, to receive it from the hands of a Prince whoſe conſort would in all probability, have a right to their future allegiance. The church of England was driven to deſpair; the diſſenters found out at laſt, that they were like to be made the forgers of their own chains. Many of James's friends began to think, that they had gone too far with him. Even Jeffreys heſitated, repented, and trembled *. Some indulged, ſome changed, and ſome invented principles to vindicate their conduct; but almoſt all reſolved on the conduct they were to follow. The birth of the Prince of Wales ſet all theſe ſparks in a flame. Men ſaw no end to their fears; and the happineſs of their Sovereign, in this event, was looked upon as an entail of calamity on the nation. James, by avoiding to aſſemble his parliament, had put it out of the power of his people to recur to their conſtitutional relief. Moſt abhorred the thought of a civil war, becauſe they recollected, that, in the time of Charles I. the nation, in defending itſelf againſt one maſter, had been ſubjected to an hundred tyrants: But they thought that a foreign force, together with the pre-

* Rereſby *paſſim*, and Clarendon's diary. Jeffreys, like all inſolent men, was much a coward. One of Charles II.'s parliaments having attacked him, in order to oblige him to ſurrender his office of recorder of London, Charles offered him his protection, and even ſolicited him to make uſe of it. But Jeffreys in terrors reſigned. Charles ſaid, with his uſual wit, "Jeffreys, I find, is not parliament-proof." North's Examen, p. 551.

pretenſions of the Prince of Orange, to interpoſe in the ſettlement of a nation which was too apt, when left to itſelf, to run into confuſion, might afford ſecurity againſt tyranny on the one hand, and anarchy on the other. In one thing only the tories and whigs differed: The tories intended no more by aſking the protection of the Prince of Orange, than to procure a great parliamentary ſettlement for the ſecurity of the national religion and laws: But the whigs, concealing their intentions in public, animated each other thus in private: "Parliamentary ſettlements and laws, in ſupport of religion and liberty, "they had in abundance: But of what avail were parliaments and laws againſt a King, who conſidered the "firſt only as inſtruments of his convenience in reigning; and who aſſerted a right of diſpenſing when he "pleaſed with the laſt? There was an original contract "between the Prince and the ſubject, by which the one "was bound to obſerve the laws, and the other his allegiance. But James had broken his part of this contract: They were therefore free from their part of it "likewiſe. And the time was now ripe, in compliance "with the voice of the people, to oblige him to deſcend "from that throne, from which by the voices of two ſucceſſive Houſes of Commons, he had already been excluded." All theſe different parties carried their complaints to the Prince of Orange with the more freedom; becauſe, although the reſerved manner, which was natural to him, together with his opinion of the violence and variableneſs of the Britiſh in politics, made him cautious of ſpeaking out his own ſentiments; yet he was ever ready to hear the complaints of a people who, beyond all others, are impatient of miſery; and who, even when happy, complain becauſe they are not happier: And theſe manners gave an high opinion of his prudence to the

PART I. BOOK V.

1688.

the diſcontented part of the Engliſh, and that they were ſafe in forming connections with him.

Natural connection at this time between England and Holland.

The Engliſh were at this time well diſpoſed to connect their intereſts with thoſe of the Prince's countrymen. The ſudden revocation of the edict of Nantes by Louis XIV. had revived the remembrance of thoſe ties which, a century before, had united and ſupported the civil and religious intereſts of England and Holland. And, when the Engliſh compared the revocation of the edict with the ſucceeding conduct of James, they imputed both to a regular concerted plan between Louis and him, to deſtroy the Proteſtant religion all over Europe. Inſtead of endeavouring to wipe off the impreſſions which the diſcovery of Colman's letters had created, James had, during the laſt two years, managed his negotiations with France in a manner which confirmed thoſe ſuſpicions. For although there were treaties between England and France, which provided for the ſecurity of Engliſh ſubjects reſiding in the laſt of theſe countries; yet no ſooner was the edict of Nantes revoked, than dragoons were quartered upon the Engliſh merchants, to force them to change their religion, and they were not permitted to leave the kingdom. When James complained of theſe things, the French court gave orders, that none of the Engliſh who were not naturaliſed ſhould be moleſted: But, as directions were at the ſame time given, that the wives and children of thoſe who had married French women, ſhould be conſidered as naturaliſed, the laſt part of the order made the firſt of little uſe; and the wives and children were ſent to priſons or to convents. Arts were uſed to rob of the benefit of the order, even the few who were entitled to it *. The French ſeized on the coaſts of

* A letter from Sir William Trumball, the Engliſh ambaſſador in France, to Lord Sunderland, December 19. 1685, in the paper-office, gives a curious inſtance of this:

"I

of England, ſome French fiſhermen who were ſettled in England, and under pretence that they had carried Engliſh Proteſtants from France into England, committed them to priſons †. They would not permit the Engliſh Proteſtants, who died in France, to be buried ‡; and the corps of a woman who had been privately interred, was taken from the grave, and dragged naked through the ſtreets. The Engliſh traders to Hudſon's Bay, the Weſt Indies, and Africa, were injured and inſulted. The people of New England were not allowed to trade, or to fiſh to the north-

"I acquainted him (*i. e.* Monſ. de Croiſſy) alſo with Sir William Douglas's petition for leave for his wife and child to go into England with him. But this, he told me plainly, the King had refuſed; for altho' the huſband, being not naturaliſed, might go if he pleaſed, yet the wife and child were ſubjects of France, and ſhould not have that permiſſion.

"It happened, that, at the ſame time, I requeſted leave for one Mrs Wilkins to ſell her eſtate at Rouen, and to return to her huſband in England, whoſe caſe was this: Humphrey Wilkins had been for many years a merchant at Rouen, but falling into troubles, his wife obtained a ſentence of ſeparation *de habitation et des biens* from him, and ſo he went to London. Monſ. de Croiſſy told me, that the King would not grant her any leave as ſhe deſired; but, becauſe her huſband had been naturalized, he looked upon her as his ſubject. So that, in the caſe of Sir William Douglas, they ſeparate man and wife, and in this, they join them that were ſeparated by the ſentence of their own judges."

Louis, at this time, ſeems to have been as bigotted as James; and to have entered as much into detail. There is an inſtance alſo of this in Mr Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, June 11 1687, in the paper-office.

"The King ſeems to be much afraid, that Mademoiſelle Dromarre, when ſhe ſhall be in the Princeſs of Denmark's court, may be prevailed upon by her ſiſter to change her religion; and, though I had thought the aſſurance I had given in his Majeſty's name, that nothing ſhould be ſaid to her to that purpoſe, might have been ſufficient, yet the moſt Chriſtian King cannot ſatisfy his conſcience, until he receive ſome more particular aſſurance; and, for that purpoſe, Monſ. de Croiſſy is ordered to write this day to Monſ. Barillon, from whom your Lordſhip will hear further of that matter."

† Sir William Trumball's letters to Lord Sunderland in the paper-office.

‡ Ibid.

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

northward *, and, when their ships were forced to anchor in the French roads for water or provisions, they were confiscated. Upon one occasion, fifty English mariners were thrown overboard. The French court at first denied the order for confiscation in the roads, but afterwards avowed it †. They laid duties so high upon the importation of the English cotton-manufactures, that the duties were equivalent to a prohibition ‡. Sir William Trumball presented spirited, but proper memorials ‖, upon these subjects. The French complained of the terms in which they were drawn, and he was reprimanded by his Sovereign. Provoked by the patience of the English, and the *hauteurs* of the French court, he resigned his embassy ††, and no satisfaction was obtained for the nation.

Louis XIV. had provoked the Pope by the humiliation of the Genoese, with whom that pontiff was connected by relation §, and had insulted him in his capital in

* Sir William Trumball and Skelton's letters.

† In Sir William Trumball's letter to Lord Sunderland, Jan. 2. 1686, in the paper-office, Monsr. de Croissy denied the order; but, in the letter of 9th Jan. Sir William says, that having urged Monsr. de Croissy upon the orders which the French commanders said they had, he answered, "He "did believe (at least by consequence) there were such orders."

‡ Ibid. May 8. 1686.

‖ The memorials are in the paper-office. *Vid.* also his letter 6th Feb. 1686.

†† Sir William Trumball's correspondence in the paper-office.

§ A letter in the paper-office from Lord Preston the English ambassador, to Lord Sunderland, from Paris, June 21. 1624, contains these words:

"The Duc d'Etrees, the King's ambassador at Rome, hath lately had an audience of the Pope, in which he designed to have declared to him the reasons which the King his master had to batter Genoa with his bombs. But the Pope, without hearing him, put himself upon his knees before his oratory, and weeping, brought forth these words: *Defende causam tuam, O Domine!* and the ambassador, not knowing what to say, retired."

in the affair of the franchiſes: The whole reign of Louis had been a ſucceſſion of injuries to the King of Spain and the Emperor. And, to ſhew his contempt of the Prince of Orange, he had, two years before the preſent period, pulled down the walls of Orange, committed the preſident, who was a Proteſtant, to priſon, and, while he permitted the Proteſtant preachers of other nations to quit France *, he confined thoſe of Orange in jails. The vengeance of all theſe Princes was therefore eager to fall upon him. Yet James, engroſſed entirely with the intereſts of his religion, inſtead of imitating the policy of his brother, who either fomented the wars of his neighbours, or took no pains to bring them to a period, employed his good offices to compoſe differences between Louis and the Pope †, uſed all his influence to prevent a war between France and the confederate powers, affected to be vain of a connection with Louis, which was dignified by both with the name of friendſhip ‡, and made an offer to that Prince, to guarantee the twenty years truce, which was then ſubſiſting in the weſtern parts of Europe *. Theſe marks of atten-

* Letter from Sir William Trumball to Lord Sunderland, 9th Jan. 1696, in the paper-office.

† Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, 15th Feb. 1688, in the paper-office.

‡ Theſe things are ſtrongly marked in the correſpondence of the three ſucceſſive ambaſſadors to France in this reign, in the paper-office, Lord Preſton, Sir William Trumball, and Skelton. Upon Dykvelt the Dutch ambaſſador's going to England, Skelton repreſents the expreſſions of the French court thus:

"Monſ. de Croiſſy took notice to me of Monſ. Dykvelt's going into England, and I find it is not approven here, fearing he does not deſign any good to his Majeſty; and they hope that the King will give them a ſhort and ſpeedy diſmiſſion." Letter from Skelton to Lord Sunderland, 1ſt Feb. 1687.

* Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, June 11. 1687, contains theſe words:

"The

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

attention, or rather of ſubſerviency to France, alarmed both the fears and the pride of the Engliſh.

But, above all, the Engliſh were diſheartened when they heard of the rejoicings of the court of France for the impriſonment of the ſeven biſhops, and the birth of the Prince of Wales *, judging, by a popular, and therefore for the moſt part by a juſt maxim, that England and France could ſeldom have reaſon to rejoice at one time.

Situation of the Prince and of Holland in the year 1768.

Many things ſtimulated the Prince to comply with the deſires of thoſe who ſolicited him to interpoſe in the affairs of England. It is natural to hate to extremes what we extremely dread: Hence perſonal averſion to Louis XIV. was the ruling paſſion in the Prince's breaſt. That monarch had, in the year 1672, puſhed Holland, and the Prince himſelf, to the brink of deſtruction. Since that time no year, ſcarce a month †, had paſſed, without ſome attempt

" The moſt Chriſtian King returning to Verſailles on Saturday laſt, I went thither the next day, and preſented the memorial your lordſhip ſent me in your's of the 16th of May, which was read in council that morning, and yeſterday Monſ. de Croiſſy told me that the King his maſter had declared his zeal for the preſerving the peace of Chriſtendom, and his reſolutions to preſerve inviolably the declarations he had lately made to maintain the truce; ſo that he was very glad to hear that the King my maſter would accept the guarantee of it, and charge himſelf with it.

" The miniſter of Denmark has deſired, that all the allies may be comprehended in this guarantee; and that the King his maſter may be particularly named in it, which Monſ. Croiſſy has given him encouragement to hope."

* A letter from Skelton to Lord Sunderland, June 16, 1608, in the paper-office, contains theſe words: " His Chriſtian Majeſty was alſo pleaſed to take notice to me of the impriſonment of the biſhops, and very much applauds the King's reſolution in that affair, and ſaid he was ready to give his Majeſty all manner of aſſiſtance that was in his power, which he ſpoke in ſuch a cordial manner as the ſincerity thereof is not to be doubted." Vid. others of Skelton's letters.

† Vid. D'Avaux.

attempt by the Prince to kindle war againſt Louis, or ſome attempt by Louis to raiſe oppoſition to the Prince. When Louis deſtroyed the walls of Orange, the Prince ſaid, "He would, one day, make him feel what it was "to have exaſperated a Prince of Orange." A ſaying which he often repeated, and always with a force in his manner, which indicated how deep the injury had ſunk in his mind. During the two laſt years he had been forming a league, compoſed of one half of Europe againſt France, but which he knew would be unavailing without the acceſſion of England. The King of Spain, the Emperor, and the Prince, preſſed James to join in that league. To the two firſt of theſe Princes, after entertaining them with ſome hopes, James anſwered, "He meant "to keep peace with his neighbours, and to confine his "attention to the commerce of his own kingdoms." To the laſt of them he offered to accede, provided the Prince would concur with him in procuring the abolition of the teſts and penal laws againſt Roman Catholics in England*: A diſcrepancy in the anſwers, which made the Prince ſuſpect the ſincerity of that which he received. All theſe Princes therefore reſolved upon the humiliation of the King of England as a neceſſary prelude to the vengeance they meditated againſt France.

Moſt of the Britiſh, whom the Prince had ſeen in the late or the preſent reign, being diſcontented themſelves, endeavoured to inſpire their diſcontents into him. The natural jealouſies between a prince in poſſeſſion, and his preſumptive ſucceſſor; the oppoſition of intereſts and religion; the remembrance of paſt, and dread of future injuries, had diſſolved all ties between the father and ſon-in-law, except thoſe which decorum impoſed, and of which perhaps that decorum made both more

* Vid. D'Avaux.

more impatient. When James recalled the ſix Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice, the Prince refuſed to part with them *. James ordered the officers to throw up their commiſſions; but few obeyed him. Skelton's ſon, who was an officer in one of the regiments, and had an office about the Princeſs, reſigned his commiſſion, but was willing to continue in his office. The Prince diſmiſſed him, ſaying, "Thoſe who will not ſerve "the States, ſhall not ſerve the Princeſs †." Skelton, who had quarrelled with the Prince, who had been an officer in the French ſervice, and who was known to hate the Dutch, was ſent ambaſſador to France to mark James's diſregard of the Prince ‡. He and the Dutch ambaſſador at Paris ſcarcely viſited each other. And, upon a falſe report that the Engliſh ambaſſador had renewed the applications to the French court concerning the Prince's intereſts in Orange, the Prince complained of James's meddling in his affairs ††. By the accident of Monſieur Rouvigny's ſecretary, a French refugee, diſcloſing to the Prince his maſter's ſecrets of the late reign, the Prince came about this time to know all the injuries which the King and his brother had done, or intended againſt him or

* Gazettes 1687. Books of privy-council, 14th March 1687-8.

† Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, March 24. 1688, in the paper-office.

‡ Ibid. to ibid. July 9. 1687; July 10. 1688.

†† From a letter 16th July 1687, from Skelton to Lord Sunderland, in the paper-office, it appears that the Dutch ambaſſador at Paris had complained to Monſ. de Croiſſy of this. Skelton repeats Croiſſy's ſurpriſe at the injury done by the report to Skelton, "who," ſaid he, "never had "made mention of any thing relating to his Highneſs, except the interce-"ding for the Preſident of Orange, and the members of that principality; "and that after ſuch a manner, that he plainly ſaw, it was not a thing the "King took much to heart."

Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, 13th Jan. 1687, and others.

or his country *; a circumſtance which increaſed preſent differences, by the recollection of ancient ones. But above all, the pregnancy of the Queen, and the birth of the Prince of Wales, gave motion to the uſual phlegm of the Prince's temper. Before that event, he had avoided a rupture, becauſe, in the courſe of nature, the proſpect of the Princeſs's ſucceſſion was not diſtant, and by haſtening too much, he might diſappoint it altogether: But now he ſaw that proſpect removed to a ſtill more remote and more uncertain day.

The Prince knew with pleaſure, at this time, that the minds of his countrymen were equally hoſtile with his own to the Kings of France and of England. Louis XIV. had lately attacked the intereſts of the two greateſt branches of the Dutch manufacture and fiſhery, by prohibiting the entry of the woven fabrics and the herrings of Holland into France. And when he repealed the edict of Nantes, he refuſed † to permit the Dutch Proteſtants in France to retire with their effects to their own country. A great number, however, made their eſcape, and were accompanied with a ſtill greater of French refugees. As there is a pleaſure in relating paſt ſufferings, and hearing them related, both theſe claſſes of men ſpread through Holland accounts of the miſeries they had endured in France, for the cauſe of their religion; and, when the Prince, from political views, received many of them into the troops; and the Dutch, from ſentiments of generoſity, made proviſions for others; thoſe who came next from France exaggerated the misfortunes from which they had eſcaped, in order to be entitled to the ſame bounty. The gazettes were filled, the

* *Vide* Blanchard's memorial in Review, chap 1.

† D'Avaux.

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

the pulpits reſounded with the cruelties of perſecutions in France; and pictures were every where in the hands of the rich, and engravings in thoſe of the poor, which repreſented the tortures uſed againſt thoſe who ſtood ſtedfaſt to the religion of their fathers. Louis XIV. by an ill-timed piece of ſpleen, united the intereſts of the Prince and of religion when he ſeized the revenues of the principality of Orange, and beſtowed them upon one whoſe ſons had taken refuge in Holland on account of their religion. Fagel, the penſionary of Holland, by a well-timed fiction, on the other hand, united the cauſes of the Kings of France and England, when, in the beginning of the year 1687, he aſſured his countrymen in their councils, that theſe two Princes were in a league, with united fleets, ſoon to attack them *. Touched already in their tendereſt parts, their religion and commerce at home, and hearing of the advances to the eſtabliſhment of Popery in England, the Dutch conſidered the Proteſtant cauſe in England to be that of the Proteſtants in Holland, and already, in imagination, beheld themſelves ſurrounded with enemies and perſecutors. The merchants threatened to maſſacre thoſe who had ſhown themſelves averſe from the intereſts of the Prince: The clergy animated the people in his cauſe: All oppoſition of party ceaſed; and all his countrymen looked up to him as the only perſon who could a ſecond time preſerve his country from ruin †.

Even from the dangers which ſurrounded Holland, the Prince knew he could derive the advantage of preparing armaments, without raiſing ſuſpicion that England was their object. The Dutch were already at war with the Algerines,

* D'Avaux, 17th Jan 7th March 1686. et paſſim. Sir William Trumball's letters to Lord Sunderland, July 17-27, 1685-6, in the paper-office.

† D'Avaux.

Algerines, whoſe fleets were cruizing on their coaſts. They had the proſpect of a war with Denmark, and which the Prince of Orange pretended to be more certain than it was. The French had put a fleet to ſea, which the Prince gave out was intended to intercept the Spaniſh plate-ſhips coming from the Indies *, and to attack Cadiz, in both of which the Dutch had great riches. Their ambaſſadors had been treated by the French court with a haughtineſs, which republicans are of all men the leaſt capable of bearing †. The King of England was preparing a great navy, more from his love of naval affairs, than from a view to make any uſe of it; yet he had lately ſent ſome angry meſſages to the States, concerning the old affair of Bantam, and the reception given in Holland to thoſe who had been in rebellion againſt him. Theſe things pointed out to the Dutch the neceſſity of an armament at ſea. And the meaſures which France was at this time taking to put the cardinal of Furſtenburgh in poſſeſſion of the electorate of Cologn, convinced them, that there was an equal neceſſity of increaſing their land-forces.

The Prince knew, that at this time, a great part of the Britiſh ſubjects was diſſatisfied with the conduct of their ſovereign; and that even the Engliſh army and navy, which are commonly the laſt to deſert the ſupport of that authority which commands and maintains them, were unſettled in their allegiance: He conſidered that he had a veteran army of the beſt troops in Europe to combat againſt an army ſo affected, new raiſed, not diſciplined, and unacquainted with war; that in ſuch an attempt his whole force would act together, whereas that of the King

* Ibid. 1686, and Sir William Trumball's correſpondence in the paper-office.

† Sir William Trumball to Lord Sunderland, 29th June 1706, in the paper-office.

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

King of England muſt neceſſarily be diſperſed to make head againſt different inſurrections in different places; that England being open, unprovided with forts, and the ſeat of its government defenceleſs, and within a few days march of the ſea, the war could not be protracted to teach war by experience to the Engliſh, but muſt be ended by a ſingle battle; and that the very boldneſs of the enterpriſe, in one of his uſual caution, would ſtrike univerſal terror into an enemy aſtoniſhed, diſtracted, ſuſpecting, and who had reaſon for ſuſpicion.

Whether the Prince intended by his enterprize only to enquire into the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales, to reconcile the King to his people, and to engage both in a war againſt France, or to dethrone him, and take the direction of that war to himſelf, is only known to that God who is the ſearcher of hearts. It is probable he reſolved to direct himſelf by events according as they ſhould preſent themſelves. For, as he had formerly urged on the excluſion, when ſeconded by one half of the nation, he fell upon the ſame principles, to accept the crown, if offered by the whole. Among his private papers, there is a letter to him from the Elector of Brandenburg, which makes it not improbable, that his elevation to the throne of England, had been in contemplation, at an interview between theſe two princes a little time before the revolution *.

The prince's movements in England.

But, as it was to England herſelf that the Prince chiefly truſted for ſucceſs, he was extremely ſolicitous, before he took his final reſolution, to know, with certainty, the reception he was to expect in that country. The papers to

* *Vide* the Elector of Brandenburg's letter, of date 27th February 1689, in Appendix, to this Book. It is in King William's cabinet.

to which the author of these Memoirs has had access in King William's cabinet, and in the *Depot des Affairs Etrangeres* at Versailles, has enabled him to give an account of the intrigues by which the Revolution was brought about, with precision and certainty. The Prince had declined taking any part, as long as the breach was forming between the King and the Church, only by letters privately encouraging those with whom he had interest, to stand firm to their religion *. But, after Lord Rochester was removed from the head of the administration in England, and Ireland was committed to the hands of the Earl of Tyrconnel, the Prince found it necessary to assume a less ambiguous conduct. For, the King having sent Albeville ambassador to the States, under pretence of removing differences between him and them, but with private instructions to sound if the Prince of Orange could be brought to the abolition of the tests, the Prince took advantage of the fears excited by Fagel's intimation of an approaching war with England and France †, to prevail with the States to send an embassy-extraordinary into England. The ambassador chosen was Dykvelt, ancestor to the Earl of Holderness, one of the three who had been sent ambassadors in the year 1672, to beg peace from the late King; and who had at that time, formed the most extensive connections with the whig-party in England. His public instructions from the States were to demand an explanation of the King's armaments, and of the angry messages he had sent them. But his private instructions from the Prince were to give a positive refusal to the King's desires about the tests, by

* *Vide*, Letters from Lord Halifax to the Prince, who had asked his opinion, Appendix. No. II.

† D'Avaux. Burnet.

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

by the vigour and merit of that refuſal to unite the heads of parties in England, and to aſſure them of the Prince's protection in defence of their religion and liberties; and the Prince wrote letters by him to the Lords Rocheſter, Danby, Halifax, and ſeveral others. Dykvelt arrived in February 1687, and remained in England four months. An embaſſy-extraordinary from Holland to the King, created at firſt a ſuſpicion in the friends of liberty, that it was intended to bring about a reconciliation between the Prince and the King*. But Dykvelt ſoon undeceived them. To the Church of England, he, in the Prince's name, promiſed ſupreme attention; to the diſſenters, the friendſhip which might be expected from brothers in religion; oblivion for what was paſt to thoſe who had concurred in the King's meaſures; and liberty to all.

Dykvelt received encouragement from almoſt all thoſe to whom he applied; but moſt from the tories, from whom he expected leaſt; but who, upon this occaſion, diſcovered that they and their opponents in party had hitherto differed, not ſo much about the right to reſiſt, as about the degree of provocation, which juſtified reſiſtance; but he received leaſt encouragement from the Princeſs of Orange's uncles, from whom he might have expected moſt. Lord Rocheſter, in his anſwer to the Prince, avoided entering upon buſineſs, under pretence of his retirement from it, and Lord Clarendon's letter was one of mere compliment. Lord Danby, provoked by bad uſage and neglect, and accuſtomed to great dangers, and from thence to deſpiſe them, in his anſwer to the Prince's letter, with the

† On this occaſion Lady Sunderland wrote a letter to the Prince, to be found in the Appendix to this book; of the myſterioufneſs and affectation of which the reader will form what opinion he pleaſes. The letter is in King William's cabinet.

the deciſion of a man of buſineſs, propoſed a perſonal conference between ſome of the Prince's friends in England and the Prince, *for the making* (as he expreſſed it) *of ſome overtures which would be of uſe to the Prince's ſervice.* But Lord Halifax, with that undetermination of ſpirit which commonly makes literary men of no uſe to the world, took advantage of this propoſal to ſay, that he could not explain his intentions at ſecond hand *. 1688.

The King having become diſſatisfied with Dykvelt's conduct, the Prince was obliged to recall him. But the Prince ſoon after took advantage of the Queen's having notified to him the death of her mother the Ducheſs of Modena, to ſend over Count Zuleiſtein, anceſtor to the Earl of Rochford, with compliments of condolence; a perſon the more dangerous, becauſe, under the appearance of a man of pleaſure and a ſoldier, he hid great talents for buſineſs, and becauſe he was entitled to a degree of confidence from the Engliſh malcontents proportioned to his near relation to the Prince. He arrived in Auguſt 1687, a time the more judiciouſly choſen, becauſe it was known that the King was ſoon to ſet out upon a progreſs through the weſtern counties. Zuleiſtein remained three weeks in England, continuing thoſe intrigues amid feaſts and revels, which Dykvelt had begun in privacy and gloom. The Prince, who knew well that the legal and conſtitutional mode of relief was by parliament, and that whilſt there were hopes of it, all other modes were improper, gave him particular inſtructions to find out, from thoſe whom he conſulted, whether there was any probability that the King, who had juſt diſſolved his parliament, would call a new one. The letters which Zuleiſtein carried from England aſſured him that there was no chance of it †.

* Vide the correſpondence connected with Dykvelt, in the Appendix to this Book, No. III. It is in King William's cabinet.

† Vide the correſpondence connected with Zuleiſtein, in Appendix to this Book, No. IV. It is in King William's cabinet.

PART I. BOOK V.

1688.

A few months after, the Prince took a more public way to gain popularity with thoſe to whom he could not privately addreſs himſelf, but without appearing to affect it James; had employed Stuart, Lord Melfort's ſecretary, whom Fagel, on account of the eminence of his parts, had long honoured with his friendſhip, to prevail with Fagel to adviſe the Prince and Princeſs to join their intereſts with the King's for the abolition of the teſts and penal laws. Fagel, upon this, wrote in the Prince's name to Stuart, "That the Prince was willing to concur in any laws for liberty of conſcience; but that he would never conſent to the repeal of the teſts, which, by confining public offices to thoſe of the national religion, were the ſureſt barriers againſt popery." A declaration of ſentiments which pleaſed the Church of England, gained the diſſenters, and, if it provoked the Roman Catholics, provoked thoſe only whom the Prince knew to be already his enemies. The letter was inſtantly printed and diſperſed through every part of Holland and of the Britiſh dominions. Stuart, in a publication, denied that the correſpondence was authoriſed by the King, but in a way which betrayed that it was *.

Jan. 1688.

But the petition and impriſonment of the Biſhops ſet the ſpirits of men, which were moving only ſlowly before, in a ferment in an inſtant. After that period, the connection of the Prince of Orange with the friends of liberty was carried on chiefly by Admiral Ruſſel, created afterwards Earl of Orford, and Henry Sidney, created afterwards Earl of Romney, brother to the famous and unfortunate Algernoon Sidney, until the birth of the Prince of Wales †.

* Three years after Stuart was made Lord Advocate for Scotland by King William, upon Sir John Dalrymple's being appointed ſecretary of ſtate.

Fagel's Letter is dated in January 1688, and D'Avaux mentions the publication in his letter of 8th January that year.

† The correſpondence between the time of Dykvelt's return to Holland and the petition of the Biſhops, which is in King William's cabinet, is to be found in the Appendix, No. VI.

But

1688.

But upon this laſt event, the careleſs unſuſpected air of Count Zuleiſtein was a ſecond time made choice of for an embaſſy to England. Under the pretence of being ſent to felicitate the King upon the birth of the young Prince, he returned in a few weeks, with preſſing ſolicitations from many of the moſt conſiderable perſons in Britain to come over with an armed force, in order to call his legitimacy in queſtion *. The original aſſociation, for which the Prince long waited, and without which he determined not to go, is in King William's cabinet: It is dated 30th June 1688, and is ſigned by Lord Devonſhire, Lord Danby, Lord Shrewſbury, Lord Lumley, the Biſhop of London, Admiral Ruſſell, and Mr. Sidney. Immortal ſeven, to whom Britain owes her preſent liberty and grandeur †. It is difficult to name with certainty all the other perſons who invited the Prince into England; and to name a few, might appear to detract from the honour of the reſt, though unjuſtly: For, while other great revolutions of ſtate have been the conſequence of long intrigue, or the effects of inſtant revenge, the favour which the Prince's enterpriſe found in Britain ſprang from the impulſe of reaſon and liberty; an impulſe which affected almoſt the whole nation, though all had it not equally in their power to contribute to his ſucceſs. But it is certain that the following perſons are thoſe who at this great period exerted themſelves moſt effectually in the ſervice of the Prince. The Admirals Ruſſel and Herbert, the one prompted by revenge for the death of his couſin Lord Ruſſel, and the other by family-pride and his own ſpirit, ſpread diſcontents among the

* The correſpondence, from the time of the biſhops preſenting their petition in the middle of May 1688, till the beginning of Auguſt, when Mr. Sidney went finally to Holland, and Count Zuleiſtein returned to it, relative to their intrigues, is to be found in the Appendix, No. VII. The papers are in King William's cabinet.

† Vide Appendix, No. VII.

PART I. BOOK V.

1688. Engliſh ſeamen, contributing thus to remove from the minds of the Dutch the only terror they had in invading England. Ruſſel, at this important criſis, ſubmitted to the duties of a meſſenger, ſailing often between England and Holland, to preſerve the communication between the parties of both countries. Lord Mordaunt, with the impetuoſity of mind which carried him in a ſucceeding reign triumphantly through Spain, was the firſt * of the Engliſh nobility who quitted England, attached himſelf to the Prince, and preſſed him to an expedition into England: Yet with that ſingularity of character which made him do every thing in a different way from every other man, the method he took to join the Prince was, by accepting the command of a Dutch ſquadron to the Weſt Indies, and returning in it to Holland. He was followed by Lord Shrewſbury, who threw up his regiment, mortgaged his eſtate for 40,000*l.* and offered his ſword and fortune to the Prince. With more art Lord Danby managed the Prince's intereſts with the tories, the Biſhop of London with the church, and the Earl of Devonſhire †, known formerly by the name of Lord Cavendiſh, but more by his generous friendſhip for the unfortunate Lord Ruſſel, with many of the whigs. The Earl of Mancheſter waited on the Prince, and returned to make preparations for his arrival. Danby's ſon, Lord Dumblain, who had a frigate of his own, employed it in carrying money, and, what was more valuable, his father's counſels, into Holland. The Marquis of Wincheſter ſent his two ſons to attend him on his voyage, judging with a Roman and with an Engliſh ſpirit, that it was juſt the fate of his family and of his country ſhould go together. Inflamed by the example, his nephew, Mr. Howe, joined the Prince, and carried many letters with him from England.

* Burnet, vol. 1. p. 762.

† Duke of Devonſhire's patent in Collins, p. 325.

Lord

1688.

Lord Danby and Lord Devonſhire inſinuated ſuſpicions of the birth of the Prince of Wales, to the Prince and Princeſs. The Princeſs Anne, in ſome expreſſions of her letters to her ſiſter, confirmed thoſe ſuſpicions, while yet in others, ſhe betrayed a tenderneſs for her brother; proving this ſolid truth in the hiſtory of the human mind, that although a woman may ſometimes loſe principle, ſhe ſeldom loſes ſentiment *. But Herbert was the firſt †, who, with the bluntneſs of a ſeaman, preſſed the Prince of Orange to lay aſide ceremony, and attack the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. After his arrival, which was in the month of July, in the year 1688 ‡, the Prince of Wales was prayed for no longer in the Prince of Orange's chapel. The honour of ſuggeſting to the Prince that the fame and abilities of Marechal Schomberg ſhould be called to his aſſiſtance, is due to Lord Mountagu, ſo remarkable in a former period of theſe Memoirs for his intrigues with France; he ſuggeſted it to Sidney, and Sidney to the Prince ‖. Lord Drumlanrig §, ſon to the Duke of Queenſberry, and Sir John Dalrymple, ſon to Lord Stair, the one at London, the other at Edinburgh, managed the intercourſe with their own countrymen. The Earl of Argyle, though an exile, and attainted, prepared his own tribe to fight againſt a family which had put the father and grandfather of their chieftain to death. The Duke of Queenſberry's brother, General Douglaſs, who commanded the Scotch army, engaged either to ſhake its loyalty, or to render that loyalty ineffectual. Mr. Fletcher, of Salton, who was then ſerving as a volunteer in Hungary, haſtened to Holland, and, without being ſolicited, or ſoliciting others, was ready with his

* Vide the Princeſs Anne's letters in the Appendix to this Book, No. VIII. † D'Avaux. ‡ Ibid. 20th July, 22d July.

‖ Vide Sidney's letter of June 30, 1688, in Appendix to this Book, and Mountagu's letter to the Prince, of May 18, 1694, in a ſubſequent part of theſe Memoirs. § Lord Balcarras.

ſword,

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

ſword, becauſe he thought it his duty to draw it. Lord Stair ſent over gentlemen prudent, long tried, and faithful, from Holland to Scotland *, to keep up the connection between the two countries. He was, above all others of the Scotch, truſted by the Prince of Orange, becauſe, in the late reign, he had withſtood equally the threats and the promiſes of Chudleigh, the Engliſh ambaſſador in Holland †. Henry Sidney, after conducting every ſtep of party in England and in Holland, prepared now to ſhare or to revenge his brother's fate. Many of the old whigs laviſhed their money ‡ in a cauſe for which their party had formerly ſhed their blood. Hampden expoſed himſelf anew to the judgment of the law on the ſide of liberty. It was once propoſed to communicate the ſecret to the Lord Chamberlain Mulgrave. After the Prince of Orange came to the throne, he told this to Mulgrave, and aſked him, What he would have done, if he had been applied to? Mulgrave generouſly anſwered, "I would have told it to the maſter whom I then ſerved." The Prince, with equal generoſity replied, "I could "not have blamed you §." Many diſcontented lords and gentlemen, who had retired from England, Scotland, and Ireland, to the Continent, flocked to the Prince. All thoſe who had been driven from any of theſe countries, in the late or the preſent reign, juſtly or unjuſtly, joined them; ſome, to attain the reward of their virtues, others, to procure the oblivion of their crimes. The perſons who were thought to have conferred the greateſt obligations upon the Prince of Orange, were Lord and Lady Sunderland, and Lord and Lady Churchill: The two former, becauſe one of them imparted the King's ſecrets to

* Lord Stair's Vindication.

† Chudleigh's letter to Sir Leoline Jenkins, Hague, 20th Auguſt 1683. in the paper-office.

‡ D'Avaux, September 1688.

§ Duke of Buckingham, vol. 2. p. 85. Clarendon's Diary.

his

his uncle Henry Sidney, who reſided with the Prince, and the other to the Princeſs of Orange; and the two latter, becauſe they perſuaded the Prince and Princeſs of Denmark * to join in a communication of meaſures with him. Lord Churchill had been raiſed by the King, from the ſtation of a page at court, to a high command in the army, a large fortune, and a peerage; ſo that his conduct has, by ſome, been imputed to the height of principle, and, by others, to the total want of it. But, perhaps, the man who conferred the greateſt obligations of all upon the Prince of Orange at the critical time of the Revolution itſelf, was the Duke of Grafton. He had aſked the command of the fleet in place of Lord Dartmouth, but James had refuſed his requeſt. Either irritated by this, or inflamed with the love of liberty, he went privately to the fleet, and obtained a promiſe from two thirds of the captains, that they would not oppoſe the Prince of Orange, and informed the Prince of what he had done †. Mr. Bing, created for his naval ſervices in a maturer age, Earl of Torrington, was the perſon, then a youth, and a lieutenant in the navy, to whoſe prudence the Duke of Ormond and General Kirk committed the care of gaining thoſe officers of the fleet to whom the Duke of Grafton had not opened himſelf. It was concerted, that as ſoon as the Prince landed in England, his friends ſhould diſperſe into their ſeveral counties, to raiſe inſurrections, and diſtract the common enemy. All theſe perſons kept the ſecret firm to each other.

Yet, amid theſe great and dangerous intrigues and concerts, human nature gave way to her uſual weakneſs,

* Clarendon's Diary.

† The Duke of Grafton told this circumſtance to Lord Dover, and he to King James. It is confirmed in part by a letter at Verſailles from Barillon to his court, dated 6th November 1688; in which he ſays, that the Duke of Grafton had aſked leave to go down to the fleet as a volunteer under Lord Dartmouth, and was there then.

As

PART I. BOOK V.

1688.

As men who enjoy the higheſt ſpirits are the moſt ſubject to low ones, Lord Mordaunt was the firſt who betrayed doubts of ſucceſs to the Prince *. Mr. Sidney, on the very day on which he ſigned the aſſociation of Seven, and whoſe imagination was, perhaps on account of that act, the more ſtruck with the dangers in which he was involving his friend and his maſter, wrote to the Prince in a ſtrain of alternate fears and hopes †. The ſecret of an invaſion was opened, at a diſtance, by Sidney to Lord Halifax; but he pretended not to underſtand Sidney's meaning, and employed himſelf in writing diſſertations on the ſtate of affairs, to a Prince who had always loved deeds more than words, and needed them now more than ever; after which the Prince gave orders to truſt him no further ‡. Lord Nottingham ‖ once engaged, but afterwards drew back, acknowledging to his friends, that they had a right to take away the life of that perſon who was now become maſter of theirs: But, by a delicacy of honour in all points, he preſerved his reſpect to the King, by not quitting him; and to his friends, by not betraying them. It is reported, that Lord Cuts, upon ſeeing him go to court, where he had not been for ſome time, propoſed to diſpatch him; but Lord Danby prevented the intention, ſaying, "Lord Nottingham is the only man in "England who can appear at court, and yet not diſcover "the concern he is under."

His ſecret preparations in Holland.

But the Prince, not daunted by the variations in Lord Mordaunt's opinions; or the anxieties of Sidney; or the learned indolence of Halifax; or the ſudden failure in the nerves of Lord Nottingham; kept on ſtraight forward and ſteady in his courſe. Having reſolved to make his

* Vide his letter in Appendix to this Book.

† Vide his letter, ditto.

‡ Burnet, Clarendon's Diary, Duke of Buckingham.

‖ Burnet, vol. 1. 764.

expedi-

expedition into England in the enſuing winter, becauſe that ſeaſon would make it difficult for France to attack his own country during his abſence, he began his preparations with the new year. The firſt ſix months were ſpent in providing money, armaments at home, and alliances with neighbouring ſtates, for the ſecurity of the Dutch frontiers: Proviſions, all of which bore a natural relation to the defence of Holland, without pointing out any intention of an attack upon England. As the fortifications on the ſide of Brabant were in need of repairs, the Prince procured from the States a credit of four millions of gilders for that ſervice, payable by annual proportions, in four years *. But taking advantage of the flow of money into Holland, which attended the flight of the French refugees, he made uſe of the credit to raiſe all the fund in one year; after which he contrived, that difficulties ſhould be ſtarted, in applying and proportioning the money to the fortreſſes. In the ſame way † he diverted to his own uſe another fund, nearly equal in value, which had been deſtined by the States for another purpoſe: And, inſtead of collecting the revenues of the admiralty, as had been formerly done, he farmed them out, in order to eſtabliſh a new bottom of credit. He prevailed on the States to equip forty ſhips of war againſt the Algerines, and ſecretly added twelve to them by his own authority. Some time before, he had made a more important attempt, by a demand upon the King of England to ſend twenty Engliſh ſhips of war into the Dutch harbours, to be ready for the ſame ſervice, according to an old treaty between the two nations, but which that Prince avoided to comply with. The Dutch ſhips as faſt as got ready, were ſent out to different ſtations remote from England, with orders to remain there for ſome time, and then to return:

1688.

* D'Avaux. † D'Avaux, 15 October, 27 July, 1688.

PART I. BOOK V.

1688.

A ſtratagem which concealed equally the greatneſs of the armament, and its object. Under pretence of protecting the electorate of Cologn, he encamped an army at Nimeguen, part of which could fall from thence down to the ſea, in a few days. Under pretence of adjuſting the confederacy againſt France, the Prince, or his favourite Bentinck, afterwards Earl of Portland, conferred perſonally with the Elector of Brandenburgh, who was flattered with the proſpect of the ſurvivance of the Stadtholderſhip for his ſon; with the Elector of Saxony; the Landgrave of Heſſe; the Princes of the houſe of Lunenburgh; other German Princes; and the governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands. It was agreed, that the Germans ſhould replace with their own troops upon the Rhine, thoſe which the Prince was to carry with him into England; and that the Spaniſh forces ſhould protect the Dutch frontier on the ſide of the Netherlands, and garriſon their towns. Seven thouſand Swedes were hired to be tranſported into Holland *. During theſe movements, the Elector of Brandenburgh died; but with his laſt breath † recommended the Prince's undertaking to his ſon. Bentinck was ſent to ſound the new Elector, and found him more ſanguine than even his father had been. The Prince entruſted his deſign only to thoſe perſonages, or their miniſters, and to four of his own countrymen ‡. All theſe, though foreigners, kept the ſecret as profoundly as the Engliſh malecontents, who ſaw their ruin in a diſcovery, had done. The King of England believed the Prince's preparations were intended againſt France. The King of France ſometimes thought they

* D'Avaux, paſſim.

† Memoirs of Brandenburgh by the late King of Pruſſia.

‡ D'Avaux, 10 September, 1688. Burnet. Verace's letter to Skelton, in the paper-office, confirms this. He ſays, "Seulment quatres perſonnes "en ont ſcu tout le detail, et pluſieurs autres en ont veu quelques particu-"larités."

1688.

were directed againſt Denmark, and, at other times, againſt the liberties of the Prince's own country.

But the deepeſt ſtroke of the Prince's policy, was his art in deluding the Pope, Innocent XI. Taking advantage of that pontiff's animoſity againſt France, he made him believe, that the Emperor was to ſend a great army to the Rhine, that he, the Prince, was to join it with one equally great, from Holland, and march at the head of both into France. For the advancement of this project, great ſums were remitted by the Pope to the Emperor; and theſe ſums thus got from the head of the Roman Catholic world, were employed in the dethronement of a Roman Catholic King *. It required leſs art to deceive the Emperor, becauſe he wiſhed to be deceived. The Prince wrote him a letter, in which he aſſured him, that he had no intention to aſſume the crown of England, and the Emperor believed, or pretended to believe him †.

His more public preparations.

But, after the Prince had employed the firſt half of the year in this manner, he was obliged, in his remaining preparations, to take ſteps which ſhewed he meditated an important invaſion, and that he expected aſſiſtance in the country againſt which it was intended. Numbers of tranſports were hired, and flat-boats for diſembarkation built: Arms were prepared for vaſt bodies of foot; and ſaddles, bridles, and boots for cavalry: Magazines of hay were ſlung in ropes in the ſea-ports, to be ready for putting on board in a minute ‡: Great trains of artillery were gathered from the different towns. Though the Prince could not form new bodies of troops or mariners, without the ſanction of the States, he gave directions for engaging 7000 ſoldiers, and 9000 ſailors, to be ready as ſoon as that ſanction ſhould be procured; An extraordi-

* Vide Appendix to this Book, No. IX.

† Vide Appendix to this Book, No. X.

‡ D'Avaux.

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

nary measure, which marked an extraordinary design. In proportion as the autumn wore on, his preparations of all kinds became more rapid, and more open; a sure sign, that he thought he had little time to lose *. But, above all, when Marshal Scomberg from Germany suddenly appeared in September, to join in command with the Prince, all men who saw him were satisfied, that the design undertaken was worthy of such generals.

Yet, even during this period, every art was contrived to conceal and distract. The vessels were hired, or bought, in different ports, and under pretence of different adventures in trade; and were continually ordered to shift their stations. The arms, ammunition, accoutrements, and artillery, were put into boats, and sent up towards Nimeguen. Some of those boats landed their contents, and returned, but their loadings were brought secretly back, in vessels which had been sent up empty, under other pretences; others of them lay concealed among the islands which are formed by the Rhine and the Maese; and others fell down to the sea, by different routs from those by which they had mounted.

James kept in the dark.

While these clouds, which had been gathering from one end of Europe to the other, were ready to burst upon the head of the King of England, he alone continued long unconscious of his danger, interesting himself alone in reconciling the King of France with the holy see, and in the fate of a war which was then carrying on against the Infidels †. Sunderland, having the command of the foreign correspondence, concealed from him what he pleased. The Prince of Orange having differed with Chudleigh the English envoy, one White an Irishman, who had got the title of Marquis of Allbeville in Spain, had been sent ambassador to Holland; a man who re-

* D'Avaux. † Vide Appendix to this Book, No. XI.

ceived

ceived one penſion from France, and probably another from Holland, and whoſe talents were as mean as his mind*. Upon the reſignation of Sir William Trumball, Skelton had been ſent ambaſſador to France, a man faithful indeed to his maſter; but who, while envoy in Holland, had quarrelled with the Dutch, and had been driven in a manner from their country †; circumſtances which, together with his poverty ‡, put it out of his power to maintain intelligence in that country. D'Avaux, the French ambaſſador at the Hague, gave information from time to time of what he obſerved, to his own court, and to Barillon the French ambaſſador at London: But the French court, not diſpleaſed to ſee diſcord ariſing between two proteſtant nations, who were both enemies to France, and between James and his ſon-in-law, took little notice of his informations ‖; and Barillon, deſirous that the King ſhould be obliged to aſk the aſſiſtance of his maſter, informed him not of all his danger. D'Avaux gave warning alſo to ſome in the court of England, but in vain; for, when Sunderland was told of his letters, he treated them § as viſionary. When James heard that the Prince of Wales was not prayed for in the Prince of 1688.

* D'Avaux, 10th October and 13th February, 1686, ſays, he got Allbeville his penſion from France, and there are a number of Allbeville's letters to the French court in the *Depot des Affaires Etrangeres* at Verſailles. Many of D'Avaux's letters make it probable that he acted in the Dutch intereſt againſt his maſter. There are a great number of his letters in the Paper-office. Theſe ſhew, that he was at firſt an intelligencer to the miniſtry from Bruſſels, under the name of Baron de Vicey, a title he got from the Emperor. He appears to have been miſerably poor. He ſolicits an addition of £. 100 a-year to his Iriſh penſion. His letters are ill-ſpelt, full of falſe grammar, vanity, and weakneſs, and his hand is ſcarce legible. I obſerve, that his letters to Lord Sunderland in the year 1687 or 1688 are not in the Paper-office.

† Skelton's letter to Lord Sunderland, 13th January, and 9th July, 1687, in the Paper-office. ‡ This appears from his correſpondence.

‖ D'Avaux, in many letters, complains ſtrongly of this. § D'Avaux.

Orange's

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

Orange's chapel, he wrote a letter complaining of it to the Princeſs: She gave an anſwer ſo late as the 17th of Auguſt, in which ſhe imputed what was complained of to neglect; and her letter was calculated, in other reſpects, to diſpel all jealouſy from the mind of her father. Kennedy, a Scotchman, Lord Conſervator of the Scotch privileges at Middleburg, came over to London in Auguſt to inform the King of what he ſaw, but could not obtain an audience. Citters, the Dutch ambaſſador *, gave him all the while the moſt ſolemn aſſurances that the Prince's preparations were not intended againſt him. Caſtagnana, governor of the Spaniſh Netherlands, acted the ſame part. Verace, of Geneva, who had been ſteward to the Princeſs of Orange, while the intrigues of the revolution were carrying on, wrote two letters from Geneva to Skelton in Auguſt 1688, which gave information of the intrigue of the Prince, the Princeſs, Bentinck, and Lord Sunderland. Skelton tranſmitted the letters; but Sunderland ſhewed them not to his maſter †. But that which, above all things, blinded the King, was the natural averſion of the human mind to give faith to news fatal to its peace.

* D'Avaux.

† The ſecond of Verace's letters, dated Geneva, 15th Auguſt 1688, is in the Paper-office. The other, though referred to in Skelton's diſpatch to Lord Sunderland, is not in that office. The ſecond letter contains theſe words: "Si j'avois a le dire, cela ne ſeroit qu' au Roy meme, parce que cela in-"tereſſe S. A. R. auſſi bien que le Prince et Monſ. de Bentinck, *et encore* "*un troiſieme en chef*. Il eſt vrai que cela intereſſe beaucoup plus ces deux "derniers, *et encore un troiſieme en chef*, ſans conter pluſieurs autres."

Skelton's letter of date 28 Auguſt 1688, contain theſe words: "I am "juſt now extremely alarmed by a diſcourſe in town, ſpread by Monſ. Vil-"lars and Nangi, who came laſt night from Verſailles, and ſay, that "there then arrived a courier from Monſ. D'Avaux, from the Hague, "which brought news, that the Prince of Orange was embarking with "6000 men for England, and had taken arms for 14 more. I cannot be-"lieve it, nor can I get an anſwer from Monſ. De Croiſſy, before the going "away of the poſt, to whom I have ſent to know the truth."

At

1688.

At last, in the middle of September *, James received the most certain information of the intended invasion, with all its most alarming circumstances, by a letter from Louis XIV. He turned pale and stood motionless: The letter dropped from his hand: His past errors, his future dangers, rushed at once upon his thoughts; he strove to conceal his perturbation, but, in doing so, betrayed it; and his courtiers, in affecting not to observe him, betrayed that they did.

At last gets intelligence of the intended invasion.

The French King, about the same time, sent Bon Repos, one of his courtiers, with pressing offers to join the French to the English fleet, to land a force in England, and to create a diversion by an attack upon Holland: Offers similar to some which Barillon had formerly made, but in a manner which shewed that he had not expected they were to be received. All advised James to reject the assistance: Some, because they were his friends; some, because they were his enemies; many, because they had no inclination to see England made a theatre for the French and Dutch to combat upon. But †, above all, Sunderland: He remonstrated to the King, "If the "French sent over a small force, it would serve only to "irritate his subjects, without aiding him; if a great "one, it might subdue his people and himself. His "army and navy, whose discontents had already appear-"ed, would never serve heartily with papists and with "Frenchmen, and perhaps might turn their arms against "their new allies. All the troubles of his brother's "reign had arisen from his connections with France, "and his breaches with Holland: If an attack should be "made upon Holland to serve him, it would confirm a "suspicion, entertained by too many, that he had formed

Offers of French assistance.

* The first public intimation of the intended invasion is in the Gazette, October 1.

† Sunderland's apology.

"a league

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

" a league with France, for the deſtruction of the pro-
" teſtant religion and the liberties of England." James ſaw equal danger in accepting or refuſing, in expoſing himſelf to rebellion from his ſubjects, or to obligations from his neighbours. National glory, and his pride, prevailed; and he refuſed protection from a power, the hereditary enemy of his own: Yet, as ſoon as he had done ſo, he repented; and, concealing the meaſure from all, even from Sunderland, he wrote to the French King, intreating him to keep a fleet of ſhips of war ready at Breſt.

The letters of the actors of the times are the beſt vouchers of the truth of hiſtory. Barillon's diſpatches at Verſailles diſcover a train of deceit purſued by Lord Sunderland during the preparations for the revolution, that is almoſt unparalleled in the hiſtory of mankind. To gain the confidence of his maſter, he entered into a project for breaking the act of ſettlement in Ireland. To gain the confidence of his maſter and of France together, he adopted a project which Lord Tyrconnel had ſuggeſted, for recalling the ſix Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice, and forming ſuch of the officers and men as were Roman Catholics into regiments in the French ſervice, but ſubject to be tranſported into England when the intereſt of their maſter required it. But, unknown to France, he threw obſtacles in the way of this recall; and yet, beſides his ordinary penſion of 60,000 livres, got an extraordinary gratification of 30,000 livres from France at this time for his ſervices. And when the Prince of Orange refuſed, as Sunderland could not fail to know he would, to allow the Britiſh ſoldiers to quit his ſervice, and Louis choſe rather to maintain Engliſh regiments in England than in France, Sunderland conducted an agreement between the two Kings, in conſequence of which (a fact in hiſtory hitherto unknown and unſuſpected), towards the end of the

the reign of King James, there were kept on foot in England three popiſh regiments regularly paid by France. When Sunderland prevailed with his maſter to refuſe the aſſiſtance of a French fleet, he took care, under pretence of intimidating the Dutch, that the offer ſhould be made public, contriving thus to draw upon him all the odium of a connexion with France, without his deriving any benefit from it. For theſe ſervices he got, beſides his ordinary penſion of 60,000 livres from France, a gratification of 30,000 livres. 1688.

The French court, in the ſpring of the year 1688, had aſked James to fit out a fleet to ſupport Denmark. Sunderland long oppoſed the meaſure, under the pretence that it would involve England in a quarrel with Holland. But when he found he could oppoſe no longer with ſucceſs, becauſe his maſter's inclinations were gained by an offer of France to maintain that fleet, he made a merit to Barillon of his having influenced thoſe inclinations, and aſked another extraordinary gratification for having done ſo: Thus, by a refinement in profligacy, deceiving Barillon into an opinion, that the perſon who was capable of repeating ſuch mean applications for himſelf, was incapable of any great and dangerous enterpriſe for another. Barillon having counſelled James, in the beginning of September 1688, to ſend for the Iriſh army to defend him, Sunderland at firſt oppoſed the meaſure, ſpeciouſly alleging, "that it would "alarm England; that the troops could not arrive in "time enough to oppoſe the Prince if he ſhould make an "attempt; that Ireland ought not to be left defenceleſs, "becauſe the Prince perhaps intended to land there; "and that, at any rate, the conſent of parliament ſhould "be waited for:" And in the end, contrived that the troops ſhould not arrive till it was too late for them to be of any uſe to their maſter. But the groſſeſt of all Sunderland's artifices to impoſe upon King James, was

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

his chuſing to make a public profeſſion of the Roman Catholic religion in July 1688, at a time when he knew the Prince of Orange was coming to England to remove all thoſe who profeſſed it from all objects of ambition. He concluded the whole of his hypocriſy, when the Prince of Orange was ready to ſail, by begging a refuge in France from the dangers he pretended to dread from the Prince of Orange, though he had privately reſolved to take refuge in Holland *.

Officers caſhiered for refuſing popiſh recruits.

Whilſt the King's mind was preying upon itſelf, and boding evil from its ſtate of uncertainty, an accident happened, which might have given him a preſcience of what was to come. His natural ſon, the Duke of Berwick, had given orders to receive a band of Iriſh popiſh recruits into his regiment †. The Lieutenant-colonel Beaumont, and five captains, Paſton, Parke, Orme, Cook, and Port, remonſtrated to the Duke, that it was inconſiſtent with their honour to receive them; and aſked leave to reſign, if their ſcruples could not be complied with. The King, who was then at Windſor, being informed of this by expreſs, ſent a guard of horſe for the officers, and caſhiered them. The ſpirit of the officers inflamed the army with emulation, and their puniſhment with reſentment. After his flight into France, James often averred, that Lord Churchill had urged him to inflict death upon their mutiny.

James makes advances to the church.

As it is natural for men in fear to be afraid of thoſe whom they have offended, James gave orders for taking off the Biſhop of London's ſuſpenſion: He invited ſuch of the biſhops as were in town to confer with him upon the ſtate of his affairs. But here his ſpirits failed him; their appearance threw him into confuſion; and he diſmiſſed them with ſome general expreſſions of civility.

* Vide Appendix to this Book, No. XI.

† Clarendon's Diary, Sept. 12. L. K. W. v. 3. p. 321.

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The biſhops, however, who were moſt of them ſincerely attached to monarchy, and who were deſirous to reſtore the King to the nation, if he could be reſtored to the church, preſented a plan of advices for the ſettlement of the nation. In theſe, they counſelled him to put the government of the counties into the hands of proteſtants; to annul the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, and never renew it; to reſtore the preſident and fellows of Magdalen college; to grant no diſpenſations in church or ſtate, or the univerſities, or the ſchools; to allow the diſpute concerning the diſpenſing power to be ſettled in parliament; to inhibit the four vicars apoſtolical; to fill the eccleſiaſtical vacancies; and, as the Archbiſhop of Canterbury ſuggeſted, the chair of York with one of their own number; to ſtop the proſecutions of *quo warrantos*; and to reſtore to corporations their ancient rights; to call a parliament; and finally, to permit the biſhops to lay before him ſuch arguments as might reſtore him to the communion of the church of England.

Theſe wiſe counſels, but to the King bitter, he received with thanks, and promiſes of compliance. The new friendſhip of the biſhops with the King, brought reſentment upon them, without taking any off him. The diſſenters complained that their intereſts had not been mentioned at all by the biſhops in their petition. The Prince of Orange's partizans exclaimed, that they were betrayed by ſuch of the biſhops as had been aſſociated with them; the more violent whigs, that the church was always willing to give up the cauſe of the people, if her own intereſts were ſecured; and many of the church of England, that the biſhops were the dupes of their own credulity. Men zealous for the conſtitution aſked, Upon what principle the prelates, in place of the lords and commons, were called to ſettle the nation?

PART I. BOOK V.

1683.

James was pleaſed to ſee diviſions ariſe, even from accident, among thoſe whom he dreaded had been united againſt him: Unhappy ſatisfaction to a Prince, over whom invaſion and rebellion impended. He haſtened his reconciliation with the church; he doubled his attentions to the biſhops; he followed the advices they had given him, as faſt as the time and the forms of office would allow. Among other things, having received intelligence that the reſtoration of the charter of the city of London was to have been one of the articles of the petition of the biſhops, he ordered it to be reſtored before the petition was preſented. Jeffreys carried it in great pomp to Guildhall. But the ſight of the man who had been the cauſe of the diſgrace of the city, took away the merit of the conceſſion in the eyes of the citizens. Sunderland* urged James to thoſe acts of grace, either to gain popularity to himſelf, or to convince his maſter of his zeal for his ſervice, or to ſhew the King's enemies the puſillanimity of the King.

Preparations of James.

James made preparations in the mean time for his defence, with the vigour of his former life. He increaſed his army and his navy, the one to 40,000 men, the other to ſixty-one ſhips, of which thirty-eight were of the line. Commiſſions were iſſued for raiſing bodies of men, to thoſe perſons of rank who offered him their ſervices; a generous, but pernicious meaſure; for ſeveral aſked the power of raiſing men, who had reſolved to employ them againſt him. The militia was ordered to be embodied; another fatal meaſure to an unpopular Prince. Strickland having been removed from the command of the fleet, becauſe he was unpopular, and Lord Dartmouth, who was the idol of the ſeamen, placed at its head, the King ſtationed it at the Gunfleet, off Harwich,

* Sunderland's Apology.

1688.

wich, to wait for the Dutch. He drew almoſt all his forces towards the capital, leaving only a ſufficiency to guard the keys of the kingdom: He ordered 3000 Iriſh troops to Cheſter, and all the troops from Scotland, which were about the ſame number, to Carliſle, in order to prevent inſurrections in the weſt and the north. Lord Balcarras oppoſed this laſt meaſure, becauſe he foreſaw it would loſe Scotland to the King; and, when his advice was not followed, he ſent a ſcheme to Lord Mellfort's office, for applying 100,000l. which was at that time, by accident, in the Scots treaſury, to raiſe the whole body of the well-affected Highlanders, and to march them into England. But the ſcheme was not preſented to James, either becauſe the letter was not delivered to Mellfort, or becauſe Mellfort, who was at enmity with Balcarras, envied him the honour of the project. James ordered the cattle to be driven from the coaſt upon the firſt appearance of an enemy's fleet: He iſſued a proclamation againſt diſperſing rumours, or complaining of government, in the preſent dangerous criſis: He was ſurrounded with volunteers of quality and diſtinction, whom, in his happier hours, he had graced with his favours. The generous appearance of Colonel Beaumont and his five officers, to guard that honour which had been regardleſs of theirs, touched the mind of the King with a bitter, yet tender ſenſation. He was adviſed to ſeize the heads of the whig party. Some of his friends preſſed him to ſeize Lord Churchill; and ſome of his enemies to ſeize Lord Dartmouth, upon a falſe charge of his being unſteady to his maſter; but he rejected the advice, either from generoſity of mind, or to create a belief, that he feared neither open nor concealed enemies.

Allbeville's memorial to the States of Holland.

As ſoon as James received intelligence of the Prince of Orange's deſigns, he ordered Allbeville to demand from the States General, an explanation of the intention of the,

PART I. BOOK V.

1688.

the armaments which were making in Holland; hoping that the States, for the intereſt of their own country, might be prevailed upon to make a diſtinction between the cauſe of the Prince of Orange, and that of Holland. About this time, Skelton, the Britiſh envoy at Paris, anxious becauſe his maſter refuſed the aſſiſtance of France, gave a hint to Monſieur de Croiſſy, the French King's miniſter, that, if Louis would threaten the Dutch, he might ſerve the King of England as effectually by his authority, as he could have done by his ſuccours. Louis was too deſirous of a handle to meddle in the affairs of England, not to improve this hint. He gave orders to D'Avaux to preſent a memorial to the States on the ſubject of Engliſh affairs. The memorial contained theſe words: "That the ties of friendſhip and alliance be- "tween his maſter and the King of England, obliged "him not only to aſſiſt him, but alſo to look on the firſt "act of hoſtility as an open rupture with his crown." The memorial was delivered to the States two days after the King of England's had been delivered; and therefore the two had the appearance of having been concerted together.

All meaſures and all accidents proved fatal to James: This interpoſition, intended for his advantage, brought miſchief upon him. Thoſe members of the States who were of the Prince's party had long put implicit confidence in that wiſdom and courage which had ſaved their country. The members of the Louveſtein faction, with that envy which attends all factions, were not without hopes that he might periſh, or be affronted in the attempt: And the neutral members, who attended only to the mercantile intereſt of Holland, were not diſſatisfied to create trouble to a King, whoſe political paſſion was the love of naval affairs, and in whoſe reign, and his brother's, notwithſtanding the diſtractions of both, the trade of England

land had flouriſhed more than it had ever done before. The States therefore alarmed, or pretending to be alarmed, with the expreſſion, "alliance," in the French memorial, exclaimed, "That it diſcovered there was a ſecret "treaty between the Kings of England and France, "which could never have been concealed from them, had "it not been intended againſt them," took advantage of the accident of the coincidence of time in the delivery of the memorials, gave no anſwer to the French one, and, in order to throw the odium of the war upon James, made anſwer to the Engliſh ambaſſador, "That they had "armed in imitation of his maſter, whoſe ſecret alliance "with France juſtified what they did." James was ſenſible of the advantage which this accident gave the Dutch over him: He recalled Skelton, committed him to the Tower, and gave the moſt ſolemn aſſurances to the Dutch, that there was no treaty between him and the French which was not known to all the world. The States, who reſolved not to be undeceived, feigned incredulity and terror. Their policy paſſed for conviction, and made their countrymen more zealous againſt the cauſe of a King, whom they believed to be confederating with their mortal enemy for their deſtruction. Private perſons conſidered the cauſe of the Prince as their own, and entered into it with all the enthuſiaſm of public and of private paſſion. We are obliged for an anecdote of this kind to a great monarch, who has found it not incompatible with the cares and pomp of royalty, to write the hiſtory of that country whoſe glories he has extended. A Dutch Jew of Amſterdam, named Schwartzaw, haſtened with an hundred thouſand pounds to the Prince. "If "you are fortunate," ſaid he, "I know you will pay "me; if you are not, the loſs of my money will be the "leaſt of my afflictions *." The belief of an alliance

1688.

* Memoirs of Brandenburgh.

between

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

between France and James rebounded from Holland to England, and cooled the few lukewarm friends he had there.

Differences in the Prince's Engliſh councils.

In the mean time, the Prince of Orange was beginning to experience, in his Engliſh friends who attended him, that ſpirit of party and politics which conſumed with vexation the remainder of his life. They differed among themſelves about the terms of the declaration which the Prince was to diſperſe in England, being divided into two parties, each of which inſiſted to have its own principles and tenets in government and religion, and thoſe only, expreſſed in the declaration. The Lords Mordaunt and Macclesfield even threatened to quit the enterpriſe, if the ſentiments they were fond of were not made the foundation of the cauſe which all were engaged in. Some inſiſted to make the faults of the late reign part of their complaints, becauſe that reign had been under the influence of the Duke of York; while others thought, that looking back would provoke the tory party. Some propoſed to look forward, and pointed at making republican principles the foundation of the expedition; while others proteſted againſt whatever could injure the conſtitution and kingly government. The Dutch were amuſed to ſee ſuch heats, upon ſuch ſubjects, among men who were diſputing with axes hanging over them. But the Prince grew uneaſy, took the drawing of the paper from both ſides, and gave it to Dykvelt, who, being of neither party, took privately the advice of Stuart, who was then at London, and drew one which pleaſed both *.

* During the intended French invaſion into Scotland in the year 1708, the Engliſh fleet at the mouth of the frith of Forth was miſtaken at Edinburgh for the French. Upon that occaſion, Sir Hugh Dalrymple, Lord Preſident of the court of ſeſſion, who was flying into England himſelf, adviſed Sir James Stuart to do ſo too, putting him in mind that he had had a hand in drawing the Prince of Orange's manifeſto; he anſwered, "Ay, ay, "my dear, that is true; and I muſt draw this man's too." This is a ſtory well known to both families.

1688.

The Engliſh differed next upon the manner of conducting the invaſion; ſome inclining to land in the ſouth-weſt, and others in the north-eaſt parts of England. Lord Danby directed his friends to adviſe the Prince to the latter: An advice founded in public upon Danby's great intereſt in thoſe parts, upon the facility of being ſupplied with horſes in Yorkſhire, and of being joined there by the malecontents both of England and of Scotland, and upon the terrors imprinted by Jeffreys's executions in the weſt not yet worn away; but which in private aroſe from Danby's deſire to engroſs the Prince to himſelf, and to aſſume the merit of the firſt important ſervice in his cauſe. On the other hand, Admiral Herbert inſiſted, that the fleet could not ride in ſafety on the eaſt coaſt, in an eaſterly wind, which was to be expected at that ſeaſon of the year: Thoſe who joined with him obſerved, that, if the Prince landed in the north, he might be incloſed between the two armies of England and Scotland; and that the country from thence to London was woody and incloſed, whereas that between the weſt and the capital was open and ſubject to no danger or delay. The Prince ſecretly reſolved to prefer the latter opinion, chiefly, becauſe he had no time for a lingering war; yet kept his reſolution within his own breaſt, to hold his enemies in uncertainty. Some again propoſed, that the ſhips of war and the fleet ſhould ſail together. Others preſſed with warmth, that the ſhips of war ſhould be ſent to fight Lord Dartmouth; and that, in the mean time, the tranſports ſhould be kept ready with the troops on board, to take advantages of circumſtances, and ſlip over. The Prince was obliged to interpoſe here. He argued, "Loſs of time "was loſs of every thing: The Engliſh on their own "coaſts might avoid or prolong engagements as they "pleaſed: In the mean time the troops muſt ſuffer by "being kept on board: A ſudden froſt might even lock

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

"up the fleet altogether." When they were not convinced by his arguments, he required obedience, and iſſued commands. Men who had refuſed obedience to their own Prince, becauſe he had not their eſteem, gave up their own wills inſtantly to that of another, though a foreigner, becauſe he poſſeſſed it.

The Prince publiſhes his declaration.

After all theſe matters were adjuſted, the Prince publiſhed his declaration, and took care that it ſhould be diſperſed through England. It complained of the King's counſellors, not of the King: "Theſe," it was ſaid, "had adviſed him to aſſume diſpenſing and ſuſpending powers, "which laid all the laws at the foot of the throne; and the "firſt exertion of thoſe powers had been diſplayed in breaking down the barriers contrived for the ſecurity of the "proteſtant religion. An eccleſiaſtical court was revived, "which had long been aboliſhed by the legiſlature: In "this court the properties of the church had been wreſted "from her, her dignities invaded, and her members perſecuted. A regular plan had been carried on, for the "eſtabliſhment of popery in England; for, monaſteries "and convents had been erected, colleges of Jeſuits "founded, popiſh churches and chapels openly built, "public ſtations crowded with papiſts, and a perſon who "was a papiſt, a prieſt, and a Jeſuit, avowed to be one "of the King's miniſters of ſtate. The political liberties "of the nation had been violated; for the charters of "many boroughs had been ſeized, their proteſtant magiſtrates removed, and popiſh ones put in their places. "A parliament had been delayed to be ſummoned, until "the electors all over Britain were ſounded, if they would "return repreſentatives named by the court; and thoſe "electors were removed from their offices who had refuſed to comply. The civil liberties of the ſubjects "were not in ſafety; ſeeing judges had been diſplaced "for giving judgments according to their conſciences, "and

" and others put in their places who had none; and the " common privilege of every citizen to lay his prayers " before that ſovereign power which rules his actions, had " been perſecuted in the perſons of thoſe who were pre- " lates of England and lords of parliament. Even the " ſecurity of property had been unhinged; becauſe the " tribunals were filled with men whoſe religion made " void, in law, all the judgments they pronounced. The " whole government of Ireland was in the hands of " papiſts, by which the proteſtants were daily flying " from a country, in which their anceſtors had been " maſſacred by the anceſtors of thoſe who had now all " power over them. Scotland had been robbed of her " liberty, and the arbitrary power of the King over that " country aſſerted even in thoſe papers of ſtate which ge- " nerally draw a veil over the diſgraces of thoſe to whom " they are addreſſed. To crown all, it was ſuſpected by " the Prince and the nation, that a meaſure had been " taken, to ſecure the continuance of the preſent calami- " ties by impoſing the birth of a Prince of Wales upon " the public. States depended for their duration upon " the maintenance of their laws; and, where theſe were " attempted to be overturned, it was the duty of all in- " tereſted in their preſervation to interpoſe. The Prince " had been ſolicited to do ſo, by many of the peers both " ſpiritual and temporal, and of all other orders, and by " ſome who were known to be the moſt attached to the " cauſe of the crown: The rights of the princeſs, which " were in danger, made it his duty to her to comply " with their deſires. He had undertaken his preſent ex- " pedition with no other view than to get a free parlia- " ment aſſembled, which might remedy thoſe grievances, " enquire into that birth, and ſecure national religion " and liberty, under a juſt and legal government, for the " future:" Expreſſions generous and open to appearance,

PART I BOOK V. 1688.

yet ambitious and ambiguous in reality; which, under the decorum of not complaining of the King perſonally, avoided an explanation upon the Prince's ſubmiſſion to his title; and, by referring the ſettlement of the nation to a free parliament, kept it open for that aſſembly to determine the queſtion, if the throne could be filled by a Roman Catholic. Sunderland's change of religion was with affectation twice complained of, the more effectually to conceal the reaſon of his apoſtacy.

Whilſt this declaration was diſperſing, James had removed the foundations of many things complained of in it, by recalling the unpopular meaſures pointed out to him by the biſhops. But the Prince publiſhed a ſupplement, in which he remonſtrated, "The recal of a part of "the late meaſures was a confeſſion of the violations "of which he had complained: But it aroſe only from "the conſciouſneſs of guilt, and from preſent danger. "The nation might ſee what faith was due to future pro-"miſes, from the regard that had been ſhown to the paſt. "A general declaration of the rights of the ſubject in "full parliament, not particular and temporary acts of "grace yielded in the preſent circumſtances of things, "was the only means to ſecure for ever the eſtabliſhment "of thoſe rights."

Other public papers publiſhed by his followers.

Beſides this manifeſto, there was publiſhed a letter from the Prince to the army, another from Herbert to the ſeamen, and a tract directed to the people, which had been compoſed by Burnet, in defence of the lawfulneſs of the Prince's undertaking: Papers all neceſſary in a nation, the meaneſt artizans of which ſtudy political diſputes when alone, with more ardour than thoſe of higher condition in other nations talk of them in ſociety. The Prince's letter piqued the ſoldiers on the honour of their profeſſion: "Their Engliſh proteſtant "fellow-ſoldiers," it ſaid, "had been caſhiered in Ire-

"land

1688.

" land without reaſon, and with diſgrace; and Roman " Catholics exalted in their places. Iriſh papiſts had been " forced likewiſe upon the army in England, and the " officers ſtripped of their commiſſions who had oppoſed " them. As theirs would chiefly be the crime, if the nation " was ſubjected to tyranny; ſo theirs would chiefly be " the honour, if its liberty was ſaved. Should they miſs " the preſent opportunity, they would find, that, after " enſlaving the reſt of their countrymen, only the poor " conſolation could remain to them, of becoming the laſt " ſlaves in the nation themſelves." The Prince concluded with promiſing military rewards to thoſe who ſhould join him, and moſt to thoſe who ſhould ſooneſt do ſo. Herbert's letter to the ſeamen was blunt and rough, ſuited to his manners and to theirs: He told them, " In- " famy or ruin to their fortunes would attend their oppo- " ſition to the Prince. Infamy, if he failed of ſucceſs; " diſmiſſion from ſervice, if he ſucceeded." Burnet's tract, by an inveſtigation of principles, and deduction of conſequences, was calculated for the inquiſitive and reaſoning ſpirit of that nation to which it was addreſſed. Theſe papers, in imitation of the Prince's manifeſto, averred, that the Prince had been invited over by a great number of officers of the army and fleet: A ſtratagem contrived partly to oblige the Prince's friends to throw off the maſk, and partly to create jealouſy in the King of his own party, and in his party of one another.

The King's interview with the biſhops.

James was alarmed, on reading the Prince's declaration, to find, that ſome, accounted faithful to the cauſe of the crown, had invited the Prince to attack him; but was confounded when he found, that ſome of his new allies, the biſhops, were of the number. In order to put them to the teſt, he ſent for * the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and deſired him to aſſemble the biſhops, and draw

* Archbiſhop's relation in append. to Clarendon's Diary.

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PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

up a paper, which ſhould teſtify their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's deſign. The archbiſhop made his excuſe, that there were few biſhops in town. The King next ſhewed the Biſhop of London that part of the Prince's declaration which related to his order, and aſked him if it was true? The biſhop gave this ambiguous anſwer: "I am confident the reſt of the biſhops will as "readily anſwer in the negative as myſelf." The King then ſent for five biſhops who were in town, and renewed the deſire he had expreſſed to the archbiſhop. They deſired time * to deliberate. The Biſhops of London, Rocheſter, Peterborough, with the archbiſhop, met privately, and reſolved to avoid complying with the demand that had been made upon them. The firſt, becauſe he could not in honour; the ſecond, becauſe he ſaw the times changing; and the two laſt, † becauſe they were irritated with their late perſecution. Theſe four were ſoon ſent for again to the palace. The King aſked for their paper. The archbiſhop, after ſeveral excuſes for not framing it, propoſed, that the other biſhops ſhould be ſummoned to town from the country, in order that all might take their meaſures together; the King anſwered, "The thing would admit of no delay." The Biſhop of Peterborough, who was moſt ſuſpected, ſaid, "That if "the King would publiſh the diſavowal of the biſhops, it "would be the ſame thing as if they did it themſelves." The King interrupted him: "A few lines from them-"ſelves would do better." One of the biſhops ſuggeſted, that as ſome of the lay lords were ſaid, in the declaration, to have invited the Prince, theſe lay lords, who were in town, ſhould meet with the biſhops to deliberate with them. The King objected, "This would "take up too much time:" And ſtill inſiſted with the biſhops for an abhorrence of the Prince's cauſe. The

* Biſhop of Rocheſter's relation. † Clarendon, p. 317.

archbiſhop,

archbiſhop, in the name of the reſt, anſwered, "We are "the meſſengers of peace, not the denouncers of war." "Then," cried out the King with vehemence, "I muſt "truſt to my own arms," and left them abruptly. From the Scotch prelates, indeed, he met with more docility: They publiſhed a declaration, in which they prayed, "That Providence might give the King the "hearts of his ſubjects, and the necks of his enemies." 1688.

Enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales.

One yet more bitter taſk remained for a king and a father. He aſſembled the privy council, the nobility, the biſhops, the magiſtracy of the city, the judges, and many other orders and perſons, and made them the following ſpeech, which I tranſcribe literally becauſe it beſt expreſſes the ſtate of things, and of the King's mind at the time: "I have called you together upon a very extra-"ordinary occaſion; but extraordinary diſeaſes muſt have "extraordinary remedies. The malicious endeavours of "my enemies have ſo poiſoned the minds of ſome of my "ſubjects, that, by the reports I have from all hands, I "have reaſon to believe, that many do think this ſon, "which God has pleaſed to bleſs me with, to be none of "mine, but a ſuppoſed child. But I may ſay, that by a "particular providence, ſcarce any prince was born, "where there were ſo many perſons preſent. I have "taken this time to have the matter heard and examined "here, expecting that the Prince of Orange, with the "firſt eaſterly wind, will invade the kingdom; and "therefore I thought it neceſſary to have it now done, "in order to ſatisfy the minds of my ſubjects, and to "prevent this kingdom being engaged in blood and con-"fuſion after my deceaſe."

He then cauſed to be examined about forty witneſſes, to prove the birth of the Prince of Wales: All theſe, perſons of the higheſt rank, of the moſt unqueſtioned credit, in matters not of opinion, but which fell under the cognizance of their ſenſes, aſcertained the legitimacy of the

PART I. BOOK V. 1688.

the Prince. The depoſitions were ordered to be recorded in chancery. Notwithſtanding this ſolemn proof, many ſtill continued to believe, and more pretended to do ſo, that the birth of the Prince was an impoſture; putting thus the nobleſt of cauſes, that of liberty and of human nature, upon a falſe and mean foundation. The Princeſs of Denmark, under pretence of being with child herſelf, though ſhe was not, avoided being preſent at thoſe examinations, and afterwards made them the common ſubject * of her merriment with her women. The archbiſhop, Lord Clarendon, and Lord Nottingham, upon this occaſion, refuſed to take their ſeats among the privy counſellors, becauſe Father Petre was upon the liſt, though, by the King's orders, he was abſent, and they placed themſelves among the Lords.

The Prince detained by croſs winds.

While theſe things were paſſing in England, the Prince of Orange, who had all things ready, was detained during ſome weeks †, by his fears for his own country. The troops of the German Princes, always ſlow in their firſt motions, were prevented by accidents from ſetting out on their march towards Nimeguen. The French army was in motion, but its deſtination not declared; and D'Avaux's memorial gave the Prince too much reaſon to fear, that the deſtination was intended againſt Holland. At laſt, all the German auxiliaries joined the Dutch camp on the Rhine, to protect Holland; and the French King, irritated by the affront of James's public refuſal of his aſſiſtance, and diſavowal of his ambaſſador's memorial ‡, left him to his fate, and, with a view to pierce into Germany againſt the Emperor, laid ſiege to Philipſburgh, a town far diſtant from the territories of the Dutch. The Prince, on the news of this, inſtantly ordered the troops intended for the expedition to

* Clarendon's Diary, 79. † D'Avaux, Oct. 1.

‡ Vide Appendix to this Book.

drop down the Maeſe and the Iſſel from the camp to the two ſeas. He ſent the tranſports which were in the Texel round to join thoſe which lay at the mouth of the Maeſe. He appointed the general rendezvous to be at Goree, where moſt of the ſhips of war already were. He haſtened himſelf to the ſea-coaſts, but was prevented from making the embarkation, by a track of ſouth-weſt winds which laſted * near three weeks. During this period, in order to heighten terror by ſuſpenſe, and to ſwell his armament in the imaginations of the Engliſh, by their ignorance of its magnitude and occupation, the Prince ſtopt the departure † of all veſſels for England: And the winds, more effectually than his orders, prevented all news from reaching that kingdom.

State of men's minds in this interval.

All this while the citizens of London, ſtopping their ordinary occupations, employed themſelves during the day in enquiring for news, and in looking from their windows and doors at the weather-cocks and ſteeples to ſee which way the wind blew. Others roſe during the night to gratify their curioſity, and ſpent whole hours in the ſtreets, in prayers for an eaſt-wind, which went at that time by the name of *the proteſtant wind*. But the reſt of the nation in general heard of a foreign army and a foreign fleet coming upon the coaſt of England, with as much indifference ‡ as if it had been a common occurrence: A ſtate of apathy which, to the wiſe, appeared more dangerous to the King than all the zeal of thoſe at London againſt him: For oppoſition leads to oppoſition of ſentiment: But that Prince approaches to his ruin, whoſe ſubjects are unconcerned about his fate. The King gave orders to elevate the ſacred hoſt, during forty days, for his protection: And the clergy of Holland and of Britain wearied heaven with their prayers, in public, for the ſucceſs, or the diſappointment, of their different Princes.

* D'Avaux, Oct. 19, and 25. † Ibid. ‡ Rereſby.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK V.

THE papers to which I have had acceſs in King William's Cabinet, and at Verſailles, enable me to give the public an account of the intrigues by which the Revolution was brought about in England with ſome degree of preciſion and certainty. The arranging of the papers on this head is the moſt pleaſing part of my taſk, and, I hope, will be ſo to others; becauſe there are few great families in this country, who will not find that their anceſtors (of whatever party they were) had a hand in it in one way or other.

N° I.

Letters carried by Monſieur Dykvelt to the Prince of Orange, from Lord Halifax, Lady Sunderland, Lord Churchill, Colonel Bellaſys; the Lords Sunderland, Nottingham, Clarendon, Rocheſter; Mr. Fitzpatrick; the Lords Danby, Devonſhire, Shrewſbury; Sir George M'Kenzie, the Biſhop of London, and the old Earl of Bedford; which contain the Intrigues of Dykvelt in England, in the Summer of the Year 1687, *for bringing about the Revolution.*

The Correſpondence on this ſubject is in King William's Cabinet, as follows:

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Allbeville ſent Ambaſſador to Holland.

Whitehall, December 30, 1686.

"I HAVE now diſpatched this bearer, M. d'Allbeville, my envoy to the States, and would not let him go without writing by him to you, to aſſure you of

the continuance of my kindneſs to you, and the deſire I have to continue in a very good correſpondence with the States, of both which I have charged him to ſpeak with you, and of ſeveral other things of concern, and deſire you will give him entire credit in what he ſhall ſay to you from me, ſo that I need not repeat any of them to you."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Dyckvelt comes ambaſſador to England.

Whitehall, February 18, 1687.

"LAST night I had yours of the 21ſt, by which I find Monſ. d'Abbeville was to have his audience of the States as laſt Monday, ſo that now M. Dycvelt may have his audience when he pleaſes; which when he has, he ſhall find, notwithſtanding ſo many fooliſh and malicious reports, that I have not altered my mind, but continue my reſolution of living with a perfect good underſtanding with them. But of this more when I have ſpoken with him."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Has prorogued parliament, and is to give liberty of conſcience.

Whitehall, March 18, 1687.

"I HAD yours of the 21ſt from the Hague, ſo late on Tueſday laſt, that I could not then let you know I had received it. I ſee by it that you were ſatisfied that the peace of Chriſtendom would be preſerved at leaſt for this year. I am of your opinion too, and you know was all along of opinion, that France would be quiet, believing it not their intereſt to be otherwiſe. I have this day reſolved to prorogue the parliament till the 22d of November next; and that all my ſubjects may be at eaſe and quiet, and mind their trades and private

concerns,

concerns, have reſolved to give liberty of conſcience to all diſſenters whatſoever, having been ever againſt perſecuting any for conſcience ſake."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The nation is pleaſed with the declaration for liberty of conſcience.

Whitehall, April 22, 1687.

"I AM very glad all things continue ſo quiet, on your ſide of the water; they are ſo here, and I find my declaration contributes much to it, the generality of the nation being ſatisfied with it and at eaſe by it."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

Windſor, May 20, 1687.

"ALL here is very quiet, and my declaration has put people's minds much at eaſe, and I have great reaſon to be well pleaſed with having put it out."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Sent by Mr. Dyckvelt.—A letter of compliments.

Windſor, May 29.

"THE ſame reaſon that kept you ſo long without writing to me, has hindered me all this while from anſwering your letter; for if you believe that your letters can be troubleſome to me, I muſt needs think that you judge by yourſelf, in finding mine ſo, or elſe you could never wrong me ſo much as to have that thought of me. I have deſired Mr. Dyckvelt, who is the bearer of this, to aſſure you that I have all the deſire in the world to do you ſervice, having as much eſteem and friendſhip for you as I ought to have, and as I ſhall always

ways endeavour to ſhew you upon all occaſions, being more than I can expreſs, what I hope you will believe me, truly yours,

M. R."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Dyckvelt returns to Holland, and is to let the Prince know what the King expects of him.—N. B. What the King expected was his conſent to the abolition of the Teſts.

Windſor, May 28, 1687.

"I Would not let this bearer Mr. Dyckvelt return without writing to you by him. I have ſpoken to him of your private concerns, of which he will give you an account, as alſo of the public affairs here, and have ſpoken very freely to him of them, and told him (what I think) I have reaſon to expect from you, for the good of the monarchy, as well as our family, which he has promiſed to tell you, ſo that I need not write it, but referr you to him, and though, may be, ſome perſons, that are not well affected to me, nor the government, have miſrepreſented ſome things to him, and find fault with my proceedings in ſeveral things, yet I am ſatisfied I have not made one ſtep, but what is for the good of the kingdom in general, as well as for the monarchy, and have more reaſon every day than other to be pleaſed with having put out my declaration for liberty of conſcience."

Tranſlation.

The Prince of Orange to King James the IId, in anſwer to the foregoing letter.—Refuſes to concur in aboliſhing the Teſts.

June 17, 1687.

"A Little after the arrival of the laſt courier, Mr. Dyckvelt came here, who gave me the letter which your Majeſty did me the honour to write to me, and informed

informed me of your goodneſs in wiſhing to take care of my particular intereſts, for which I give you humble thanks, and entreat you to remember them upon proper occaſions. As for the reſt, he gave me an account of what your Majeſty gave him in charge to ſay me on your part. Upon this head your Majeſty will give me leave to repeat, what I formerly had the honour to write you, that there is no perſon in the world who has more averſion than I have for all ſort of perſecution on the ſcore of religion, and that certainly I will never in my life put my hand to it; but at the ſame time that I can never reſolve to do any thing contrary to the intereſt of the religion which I profeſs; and that therefore I cannot concur in what your Majeſty aſks of me. This I hope you will not take amiſs when you conſider upon what foundation I do it, and that in every other thing you will find no body who will be more attached to your intereſts, and who will ſerve them with more fidelity, which I wiſh paſſionately for occaſions of teſtifying to your Majeſty by effects, and that I ſhall be all my life with a profound reſpect what I ought."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Vexed that the King will not conſent—Complains of Dyckvelt.

Windſor, June 16, 1687.

"I Had yours of the 17th ſo late on Tueſday laſt, that I could not then anſwer it. Since when, I have had alſo yours of the 20th, and write now becauſe I intend to hunt to-morrow, and am ſorry to find by it, that you ſay you are againſt perſecuting any for conſcience ſake, and yet that you cannot be for taking off all thoſe laws, and the Teſts which are ſo very ſevere and hard upon all Diſſenters from the Church of England; and ſince what Mr. Dyckuelt ſaid to you from me, could not alter your mind

mind as to that, I cannot expect that a letter should prevail with you; so that I shall say no more on that subject now, and only tell you that you will find that he Mr. Dyckuelt has not taken right measures of affairs here, by giving so much credit to some that do not wish me and the monarchy well, and continue their old methods of creating fears and jealousies."

Before Dykvelt came to England, the Prince of Orange had privately applied to Lord Halifax to know his sentiments upon the state of things in England.

In King William's cabinet are the two following letters from Lord Halifax upon this occasion:

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Advises the Prince to remain quiet; and wait for accidents.

December 7, 1686.

"AFTER so long a respite, your Highness will allow me to make use of the privilege of presenting my duty to you, and to put you in mind that my conjectures concerning the parliament have proved true, and if you will give me leave to make my guesses of what is to come, I am of opinion that the meeting appointed in February will not hold, there being no steps made to make it more advisable at that time than it was last month. Besides, the condition the King of France is in, which is looked upon here as desperate, is a circumstance of that weight, that it must probably either produce a new scheme, or make very great alterations in the old one. Your Highness seeth of what use it is to stand firm and quiet, neither to yield nor to give advantage by acting unseasonably. Accidents come that either relieve, or at least help to keep off the things we fear for a longer time; and that is no small matter in the affairs of this world. I

muſt give you my moſt humble thanks for your Highneſſes favours to my ſon, who is, as becometh him, extremely proud of them, and will I hope make it his ambition, as well as it is his duty, to deſerve them; if he ſhould not, he muſt renounce the reſt of his family, and particularly your Highneſs's eternally devoted ſervant."

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

January 18, 1686-7, S. V.

"YOUR Highneſs will give me leave to acknowledge your goodneſs to my ſon, in giving him ſuch favourable admittance, which hath made him yet more ambitious to deſerve the countenance you have been pleaſed to afford him. I hope you will put him in the liſt of thoſe who are to be diſpoſed of by you, ſince it is a tenure by which I and mine ſhall ever hold. He is ſo full of his veneration for your Highneſs, that he doth himſelf a very good office with me, by ſuch an effect of his judgment; yet I will not anſwer for it ſo far, but that he may have been guilty in the manner of paying his reſpects, in which if he hath failed, his youth and his good intentions muſt be his excuſe. He will bring your commands carefully to me, which will be ſo much the more welcome, by giving me the aſſurance that I ſtill retain the ſame place in your Highneſs's thoughts, though I have not of late had ſo frequent opportunities of recommending myſelf to them. In one thing I have had the luck to gueſs right, and not to miſlead you by a wrong conjecture; that is, about the meeting of the parliament, which you ſee is to be prorogued, notwithſtanding the poſitive diſcourſes to the contrary. The motion of public things, at preſent, hath not only variety but ſome kind of contradiction in it. It is very rapid, if looked upon on one ſide, if on the other, it is as ſlow; for though there appeareth the ut-

moſt vigour to purſue the deſign which hath been ſo long laid, there ſeemeth to be no leſs firmneſs in the nation, and averſion to change; ſo that converſions are ſo thin, and thoſe which are, ſo little fit to be examples, that the prevailing party is not a little diſcountenanced by making no quicker progreſs; for that reaſon it is believed they will mend their pace; and if ſo, every day will give more light to what is intended, though it is already no more a myſtery. Whatever happeneth, nothing muſt ever alter my reſolutions of being devoted to your Highneſs's ſervice."

Soon after Mr. Dykvelt arrived in England, the Counteſs of Sunderland ſent a meſſenger to Holland with the following letter to the Prince of Orange, of the affectation and myſteriouſneſs of which the reader will form what judgment he thinks proper. My own ſuſpicion is, that the letter was her huſband's diction, and the poſtſcript her own. The reader will ſuſpend his judgment of Lord Sunderland till he has ſeen the ſubſequent papers relating to him in this Appendix.

Counteſs of Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—A ſingular letter.

March 7, 1687.

"AT the diſtance that Mr. Sidney is I am in a great ſtreight how to let your Highneſs know a matter which appears to me very neceſſary you ſhould be acquainted with; and however ſtrange it may ſeem to you my undertaking to write to you, which is what I never did before, and upon a ſubject you may think unfit for me to meddle in, had I the honour to be known to you; I think it better not to trouble you any farther with apologies,

logies, but humbly beg a ſuſpenſion of your opinion of me till you ſee Mr. Sidney, who will do me the right, I am ſure, to tell you I am not apt to meddle in theſe affairs; and as I do only truſt him, ſo I think nothing but your ſervice could tempt me to break through a difficulty of this kind that may ſeem bold to you, and if by any accident in the way ſhould be known, ruin to myſelf. But I ſhall paſs by all that to let you know the buſineſs now on foot here. Your Highneſs is not ignorant I am ſure what endeavours have been uſed here to gain votes in parliament for repealing the teſt and penal laws, upon which, as I ſuppoſe you know, ſeveral have and do quit their places rather than ſubmit to; which makes the Roman Catholics ſee they are not likely to carry it that way; which brings me to that which I think of importance you ſhould know; that the laſt eſſay they will put in practice as to the parliament, is to flatter Monſieur Dixfield with a great many fine things, that there ſhall be an entire union between England and Holland, nay farther, I am ſure they intend to make you the fineſt offers in the world, as your having a full power in military and civil affairs by naming all officers; that Ireland ſhall be put into what hands you will; and for all this they aſk you to bid Monſieur Dixfield, and Monſieur Citers declare in your name, that you wiſh the parliament would take off theſe laws, and that you think it reaſonable they ſhould do ſo. By this means they fancy they may compaſs their point, which when done, I think 'tis plain the article on your part is upon record, theirs only verbal; your Highneſs is the beſt judge of the likelihood of its being performed. But with ſubmiſſion to your better judgment in all things, I muſt beg leave, being here, and hearing many of your faithful ſervants, that are acquainted with the temper of the nation, at preſent talk of this matter of the induſtry that is uſed to take off theſe laws, to give you both theirs

and my own opinion in this matter; that if there were a poſſibility for you to be brought to do what they will aſk of you, it will only have this effect, that it will create jealouſies of your Highneſs here, which may be of very ill conſequence to you, and even your joining in it would never do their buſineſs, I mean the repealing the laws. Another point is, it is poſſible it would gain the making people jealous of you, which I believe is the ſecond point they value in this commerce. But I have not apprehenſion enough of your being caught with theſe fine offers, ſo have given you this trouble. But how far the offers may touch the ambaſſadors I did not know, for I am ſure there is no offers, nor no dangers, that will not be very artificially ſhewed Monſieur Dickfield. For the laſt I am ſure there is nothing they need apprehend; and I think the offers are full as ſlight: But a negotiation on any commerce of this kind cannot be to your advantage; but infinitely the contrary; which is the only inducement I have in ſending this man with this intelligence, in which I have been ſo cautious that the bearer does not know he comes from me, or that he has any letter of mine. I have only writ to Monſieur Bentick a letter about my garden, and incloſed one for the Princeſs, in which I have made bold to put this, for which I moſt humbly beg you will aſk her pardon, and beſtow yours upon the faithfulleſt and humbleſt of your ſervants.

A. SUNDERLAND.

I muſt beg leave of your Highneſs to incloſe a letter for Mr. Sidney, who I hope will be with you very ſoon, and till he comes I beſeech you make no anſwer to my letter, for fear of accident. For this had gone to you two poſts ago, but that an accident happened that I thought was better to let paſs over. Some papiſts the other day that are not ſatisfied with my Lord, ſaid, that my Lord Sunderland

derland did not dance in a nett; for they very well knew, that however he made the King believe, he thought of nothing but carrying on his buſineſs; there was diſpenſations from Holland as well as from Rome; and that they were ſure I held a correſpondence with the Princeſs of Orange. This, Sir, happened the day I firſt heard of their deſign to make theſe propoſitions which I have writ, which made me defer ſending till the King had ſpoke to me of it, which he has done: and as I could very truly, ſo I did aſſure his Majeſty, I never had the honour to have any commerce with the Princeſs, but about treakle water or work, or ſome ſuch ſlight thing; ſo I did likewiſe as truly aſſure his Majeſty, that if there had ever been any commerce, I ſhould never be aſhamed, but on the contrary proud to own it, ſeeing he muſt be ſure that the Princeſs could never be capable of any thing with any body to his diſſervice. Now how this fancy came in their heads I cannot imagine; but that they have a mind to do miſchief; for as your Highneſs knows, I never had the honour to write to you at all till now; ſo the Princeſs knows I have been ſo unhappy to have very little acquaintance with her till of late I have had the obligation to my Lady Semple and Mr. Sidney to have had an occaſion of writing to her, which I value, and will endeavour to continue and improve by all the zeal and eſteem for her that I am capable of to my laſt breath. I have the ill luck to write a very bad hand, which if your Highneſs cannot read plain, which few can, I humbly beg you will keep it till Mr. Sidney comes, who is uſed to my hand. If at this man's return I can but hear my letter came ſafe, and that you pardon the liberty I have taken, I ſhall be very much at eaſe. If, by the bearer, your Highneſs will be pleaſed to let me know my letter came ſafe to you, I ſhall think myſelf very happy."

Monſ.

Monſ. Dykvelt carried over with him among other letters the following from England to the Prince of Orange. It is ſingular that moſt of them are from men of the tory party. The letters are intereſting to Engliſh readers, becauſe they diſplay the various characters and views of the writers. The letters are all in King William's cabinet.

Lord Churchill to the Prince of Orange.—Aſſures him the Princeſs Anne and himſelf are to ſtand firm to their religion.

SIR,

"THE Princeſs of Denmark having ordered me to diſcourſe with Monſ. Dyckvelt, and to let him know her reſolutions, ſo that he might let your Highneſs, and the Princeſs, her ſiſter, know, that ſhe was reſolved, by the aſſiſtance of God, to ſuffer all extremities, even to death itſelf, rather than be brought to change her religion. I thought it my duty to your Highneſs and the Princeſs Royal, by this opportunity of Monſ. Dyckvelt, to give you aſſurances under my own hand, that my places and the King's favour I ſet at naught, in compariſon of the being true to my religion. In all things but this the King may command me, and I call God to witneſs, that even with joy I ſhould expoſe my life for his ſervice, ſo ſenſible am I of his favours. I know the troubling you, Sir, with thus much of myſelf, I being of ſo little uſe to your Highneſs, is very impertinent, but that I think it may be a great eaſe to your Highneſs and the Princeſs to be ſatisfied that the Princeſs of Denmark is ſafe in the truſting of me; I being reſolved, although I cannot live the life of a ſaint, if there be ever occaſion

occaſion for it, to ſhew the reſolution of a martyr. I am, with all reſpect, Sir," &c.

May 17, 1687.

Colonel Bellaſys to the Prince of Orange.—Boaſts of his loyalty, and aſſures the Prince of his ſervice.

May 27, 1687, Old Stile.

"I HAVE preſumed by this worthy bearer, to give your Highneſs the aſſurance of my devotion to your ſervice in particular; the teſtimony I have given to the world of my loyalty and ſufferings for the crown, obliges me in duty to pay the ſame to thoſe who are ſo nearly related to it as the Princeſs Royal and your Highneſs. Though my hand be weak to expreſs it, or enlarge myſelf upon this ſubject, my heart ſhall ſupply that defect, in the profeſſion I make, with all ſubmiſſion, of being," &c.

Lord Sunderland to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Monſ. Dykvelt has to ſay to him.

"I Received the honour your Highneſs was pleaſed to do me by Monſ. Dickvelt with all the reſpect I owe, and will ever pay to your commands, which I ſhall, on all occaſions, exactly obey. He is too well informed of every thing here, to pretend to give you any account of what has paſſed ſince his coming; and if he does me right, as I doubt not but he will, he muſt aſſure your Highneſs, that no man in the world is with more reſpect and ſubmiſſion than I am," &c.

Windſor, May 28, 1687.

Lord

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Dykvelt has to say.—The Prince has the univerſal attachment of the Proteſtant intereſt to him.

"THE great ambition I ever had of ſerving your Highneſs, made me moſt readily obey the commands I received from you by the Heer Van Dychvelt, who has encouraged me to the preſumption of this humble addreſs to your Highneſs.

I have taken ſeveral opportunities of diſcourſing with him thoſe things which I thought might be of uſe or ſatisfaction to you; I ſhall not trouble your Highneſs with any account of affairs here at this time, for he has ſo fully informed himſelf of them, that he can give you a very exact account of them: and of one thing eſpecially he may aſſure you, and that is, the univerſal concurrence of all Proteſtants in paying the utmoſt reſpect and duty to your Highneſs, for you are the perſon on whom they found their hopes, as having already ſeen you a refuge to the miſerable, and a moſt eminent defender of their religion.

And among the many votaries your Highneſs has here for your long life and increaſe of honour, none can be more zealouſly ſo than myſelf, who am reſolved, with the greateſt fidelity, to endeavour, by all the actions of my life, to obtain the title of," &c.

London, May 18, 1687.

Lord Clarendon to the Prince of Orange.—A letter of compliment.

SIR,

"THOUGH I have nothing worth giving your Highneſs the trouble of a letter, yet I muſt not omit the opportunity of laying myſelf at your Highneſs's feet by

Monſ. Dyckvelt, who, I doubt not, will do me the juſtice to aſſure you of my moſt obedient duty. I ſhould take it for a great honour to have any commands from your Highneſs, and ambitious of nothing more than a ſhare of your good opinion, as a perſon perfectly devoted to your ſervice. Monſ. Dyckvelt will give your Highneſs ſo full an account of all affairs here, that I need add nothing to what he is ſo well informed of; I ſhall only take the liberty to ſay, that as his conduct here has been very grateful, ſo all good men are troubled he ſtays no longer with us. That God would proſper and bleſs your Highneſs in all your undertakings, and give you all the comforts in this world, ſuitable to your merits, is the conſtant prayer of, Sir," &c.

London, May 28, 1687.

Lord Rocheſter to the Prince of Orange.—General aſſurances of good will, but avoids entering into particulars.

"NOW that Monſieur de Dycvelt is returning to your Highneſs, I preſume to preſent my humble thanks to you for the very gracious and kind letter your Highneſs was pleaſed to write to me by him, upon a ſubject, that unleſs it had been by a ſure hand, it was not ſafe to ſay any thing; and by what hand ſoever, was much beyond what I could expect; but what good opinion I have gained on that occaſion, I ſhall endeavour not to loſe upon any other. In the circumſtances I am, as to my retirement, both on the public and my particular account, your Highneſs cannot expect that I ſhould ſay much to you; and if it were otherwiſe, Monſieur de Dycvelt hath had ſo good means of knowing every thing, and hath ſo very good qualities, that it were very unneceſſary to write, where he is going: I am confident that he will do me right, that I have not been reſerved

towards him, when he hath done me the honour to communicate any thing to me. All that I can ſay more, is, that my wiſhes are very good, but neither now, nor for ſome time, before every body elſe ſaw it, could they ſignify much. In what condition ſoever I am, I beg your Highneſs to believe, that I ſhall always continue, with all duty and ſubmiſſion, to be as I ought to your Highneſs."

New Park, May 29, 1687.

Mr. J. Fitzpatrick to the Prince of Orange.—Proteſtants of all parties have opened themſelves to Dyckvelt.

SIR, May 30, 1687.

"THE many obligations I have to your Highneſs, and the ſincere paſſion I have for your ſervice, emboldens me to acquaint your Highneſs with the great importance that I think it would be not only to your Highneſs, but the States, if Monſ. Dickvelt might be ſent ambaſſador here in the room of Monſ. Van Citers; his great prudence, and the zeal that he is believed to have for your Highneſs and the Princeſs, has got him the univerſal good opinion of all parties here, though differing never ſo much in their religions, which your Highneſs will eaſily find by the freedom with which they have communicated their innermoſt thoughts, hopes and fears to him, and I am ſure will do ſtill, when there is any occaſion for it. The thoughts of which I ſubmit to your Highneſs's great wiſdom, begging your pardon for this liberty, and the continuance of your favour to the perſon in the world that is moſt ambitious of an opportunity to expreſs his gratitude, and manifeſt how much he is, Sir," &c.

Lord

Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.—Recounts Dyckvelt's ſervices to the Prince in England.—Propoſes a perſonal interview of ſome of the Engliſh with the Prince, that overtures might be made.

London, May 30, 1687.

"AT the arrival of Monſ. Dyckvelt in this place, I did by him receive the honour of being remembered by your Highneſs. He alſo then told me, that your Highneſs had been pleaſed to name me, amongſt ſome others, with whom it was your pleaſure he ſhould confer on ſuch occaſions as he ſhould think were for the ſervice of your Highneſs. I am, therefore, in the firſt place, obliged to return your Highneſs my humble thanks for ſo great an honour, and next to do that juſtice to Monſ. Dyckvelt to aſſure your Highneſs, that as you could have employed nobody here who would have been more agreeable to your well-wiſhers in this country, ſo I am confident that nobody could have diſcharged themſelves better than he hath done, both in his deportments to the King, and with all the ſatisfaction that could have been wiſhed to thoſe with whom he has converſed concerning your Highneſs (of which both the numbers and quality have been very conſiderable); his chief buſineſs having been to give aſſurances of your Highneſs's great firmneſs in the proteſtant religion, and to make known not only your wiſhes, but endeavours, that no alteration may be made amongſt us, otherwiſe than by parliament, and as our law directs. By his prudent management of theſe diſcourſes, he has done your Highneſs great ſervice, and in all other things your Highneſs's worth and merit were ſo well known before, that there needed nothing to ſet them forth more than

your own actions have already declared them to the world.

I am ſorry he is able to bring your Highneſs no better an account of our ſervices during his ſtay here, but you know that our preſent ſtations do render moſt of us but little capable of doing any thing which can deſerve to be thought conſiderable. I confeſs, that could there be a convenient opportunity for ſome of us to have a perſonal conference with your Highneſs, it is not only my opinion, but the opinion of others, who have the honour of correſponding with your Highneſs, that ſome overtures might be made which would be of uſe to your ſervice, and I hope from theſe hands your Highneſs is well informed of their thoughts who are devoted to your ſervice. For my own part, I am ſo tied to be of that number by what I have done already (beſides my continued inclinations to be ſo), that if I were diſpoſed to alter that character, I ſhould not be able to make myſelf believed, unleſs your Highneſs would contribute to it by ſome proof of your diſpleaſure towards me, which I can never fear, becauſe I am equally aſſured of your juſtice, as I am of my own integrity to your ſervice, and of the ſatisfaction I have received by thoſe happy ſucceſſes I have had in it, to which I am ſure no competitor can pretend an equal ſhare; and, therefore, if in this I preſume to more than I ought, I hope I may be pardoned a little vanity, having been the happy inſtrument of ſo great a public good, as, I doubt not, it will at laſt prove, as well as a particular one to your Highneſs. I am glad to find that Monſ. Dyckvelt, who is ſo able to ſerve your Highneſs, is ſo well eſtabliſhed in your confidence, as I underſtand by my Lord Halifax, to whom you gave him ſuch credentials as made me willing to ſpeak much more freely to him than otherwiſe I ſhould have done; but yet I muſt

I muſt confeſs to your Highneſs (which I rely upon your juſtice to keep to yourſelf), that finding his Lordſhip, who received thoſe credentials, not willing to impart ſome things to him which are not very proper to be written, I thought it leſs prudent for me to ſay to him all that I could wiſh your Highneſs were truly informed of. I ſay not this with the leaſt reflection upon my Lord Halifax (who, I am confident, is truly zealous in your ſervice), but to ſhew our unhappineſs, who dare not, by ſecond hands, ſpeak what was neceſſary for your knowledge. I have only to add, that if I can, in any kind, be ſerviceable to your Highneſs, your commands will meet with ſo great obedience and faithfulneſs, that I ſhall not conſider myſelf, if your Highneſs ſhall think me worthy of the continuance of that favour I have formerly received, and which, I am ſure, I have not juſtly forfeited. In the mean time, I will beg the honour of being preſented by your Highneſs, with all duty, to the Princeſs's memory, and that I may imagine 'tis your Highneſs's opinion, as I truly am," &c.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—There is little fear that popery will prevail.

May 31, 1687.

"I Deferred my thanks for the honour of your Highneſs's letter, till I could pay them by the ſame hand that brought it. Having had the opportunity of diſcourſing frequently, and at large, with Monſ. Dickvelt, it would be leſs proper now to enter into particulars, or to make repetitions of that, which he will be ſo much better able to explain. I ſhall, therefore, only put your Highneſs in mind, that my conjectures about the meeting of the parliament have not hitherto been diſappointed; and if I may be allowed to continue them, I am of opinion

opinion there will be none in November, neither this, nor a new one, though that is threatened, upon a ſuppoſition, that it ſhall be made up of Diſſenters, and that they will comply with whatever ſhall be expected from them. Neither of theſe will be found true, in my opinion, if the trial ſhould be made; there are a great many circumſtances which make ſuch a ſcheme impracticable, and the more they conſider it, the more they will be diſcouraged from attempting it; beſides, the caſe, in ſhort, is this; the great deſign cannot be carried on without numbers; numbers cannot be had without converts, the old ſtock not being ſufficient; converts will not venture till they have ſuch a law to ſecure them as hath no exception to it; ſo that an irregularity, or any other violence of the law, would ſo entirely take away the effect of it, that men would as little run the hazard of changing their religion after the making it, as before; this reaſon alſo fixeth my opinion; though other arguments are not wanting; and upon this foundation I have no kind of apprehenſion, that the legiſlative power can ever be brought to purſue the preſent deſigns. But our affairs here depend ſo much upon what may be done abroad, that our thoughts, though never ſo reaſonable, may be changed by what we may hear by the next poſt. A war in Germany, and much more if one nearer to us, will have ſuch influence here, that our councils muſt be fitted to it; and whether or no we ſhall have an avowed part in it, it is pretty ſure we ſhall have a leaning to one of the parties; and our reſolutions at home are to be ſuited to the intereſts abroad, which we ſhall happen to eſpouſe. Men's jealouſies here are ſo raiſed, that they can hardly believe the King of France's journey to Luxemburg to have no more in it than bare curioſity to ſee it; but your Highneſs hath your eyes ſo open, and your thoughts ſo intent upon every thing that

that moveth, that, no doubt, you either ſee there is no myſtery, or, if there is, you have ſearched to the bottom of it. Monſ. Dickvelt will entertain your Highneſs with all his obſervations, which he hath made with great diligence, having converſed with men of all complexions, and by that means he knoweth a great deal of the preſent ſtate of our affairs. The opportunities he hath had, will make him the more welcome here again, whenever there ſhall be a fair occaſion of bringing him. His free way of converſing, giveth him an eaſier admittance than he would have, if he was too reſerved; and his being known to be a creature of your Highneſs, encourageth men to talk with him with leſs reſtraint. May your Highneſs continue well and ſafe, and may no ill happen to you, till I ceaſe to be the moſt devoted of your ſervants."

Earl of Devonſhire to the Prince of Orange.—Refers to what Monſ. Dyckvelt has to ſay.

SIR,

"PRESUMING that your Highneſs has heard of an unlucky accident that has happened to me lately, I think myſelf obliged humbly to beſeech your Highneſs not to believe me capable of intending any rudeneſs to the King's palace, having, on the contrary, endeavoured all I could to avoid it, and hope no action of my life can render me ſuſpected of want of reſpect to his Majeſty, or the Royal Family. I could heartily wiſh, Sir, that affairs in England were according to your Highneſs's ſatisfaction. Monſ. Dyckvelt has been pleaſed to acquaint me with your Highneſs's intentions as to many things, and among thouſands here that would be glad to receive your orders on any occaſion, none can be more cordially, nor with greater reſpect, Sir," &c.

May the 31ſt.

Earl

Earl of Shrewſbury to the Prince of Orange.—Strong aſſurances of his ſervices.

SIR, London, May 30, 1687.

"I FEAR you will think this an unpardonable preſumption in one that is ſo inconſiderable, and ſo much a ſtranger to your Highneſs; but I was unwilling to let paſs the occaſion, without aſſuring you, that though I hope you have a great many ſervants and friends in this place, yet there is not one more entirely and faithfully ſo than myſelf. It is ſo much every honeſt man's intereſt, not only to ſay, but be ſo, that I hope you will the eaſier believe what I ſpeak is not a compliment, but the truth of my heart. The great, and only conſolation that we have left is, that you are ſo generous to countenance us in our misfortunes, Sir, at the ſame time we know you approve we here are in the right. Your commands is the rule I have ſet myſelf to conduct the reſt of my life; and whenever I ſhall be ſo happy as to receive them, they ſhall be obeyed with that duty that becomes, Sir," &c.

Sir George Mackenzie to the Prince of Orange.—A ſpirited letter.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"I HAVE adhered to the principles of the Proteſtant religion, and the intereſt of the royal family, from a due ſenſe of duty and honour, and therefore I neither value popularity nor expect rewards. But, Sir, your great virtue and exemplary firmneſs obliges me to aſſure your Highneſs, that there is none in this iſle of Britain more devoted to your ſervice than," &c.

Edin. June 9, 1687.

The Biſhop of London to the Prince of Orange.—The King may come to trouble, and the Prince will be his only ſupport.

SIR, June 16.

"I HAVE preſumed to recommend a young French gentleman to you by the hands of Monſieur Bentingk, and beg your pardon for it. I was very glad to receive ſo good aſſurance of your welfare as Monſieur Dickvelt brought over. It is not only for your near relation to the crown, that you are ſo much prayed for here, but for your uſefulneſs to it. For if the King ſhould have any trouble come upon him, which God forbid, we do not know any ſure friend he has to rely upon abroad, beſides yourſelf, whom therefore God long preſerve a bleſſing to the King and kingdom, which ſhall ever be the prayer of," &c.

The old Earl of Bedford to the Prince of Orange—Laments his own misfortunes.—Attached with his family to the Prince.—Prays for him.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"GREAT and ſurpriſing honours the more joy they give, the more they diſable us to expreſs it, and I am not aſhamed to own I cannot find words to repreſent the deep ſenſe and juſt gratitude with which my heart abounds, for thoſe aſſurances Monſieur Dyckvelt has given me of your Highneſs's compaſſion for my late calamity, and gracious diſpoſition to comfort an unfortunate family, which I ſhould be leſs concerned for than I am, if I could doubt any branch of it would ever fail in any point of duty to your Highneſs's perſon, which is here univerſally held in the higheſt veneration for thoſe Chriſtian and princely virtues that make you worthy of whatever your

high birth has given you, or may entitle you to. That it would pleaſe God to give you long life, and to continue all his bleſſings to you, is the hearty prayer of him that has the utmoſt devotion to your ſervice, and is, with all humility," &c.

N° II.

Correſpondence conducted by Count Zuleſtein.

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Notifies the Ducheſs of Modena's death.

Windſor, Auguſt 2, 1687.

"THE friendſhip you have ſhewed me on all occaſions, and the part that I have always flattered myſelf, you took in my concerns, makes me hope I may have a great ſhare of your compaſſion in the great grief I now lie under, for the death of the Dutcheſs of Modena, my mother; in which nothing can comfort me, but the hopes I have of her happineſs in the other world. Next to this I think it ſome eaſe in one's afflictions to have the pity of one's friends, which makes me hope for yours at this time, aſſuring you that in what condition ſoever I am, I ſhall always be with all ſincerity truly yours.

M. R."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—Thanks for his condolence by Zuleiſtein, who returns.

Bath, Auguſt 21, 1687.

"I HAVE ſo many thanks to return you for the part which M. Zuliſten has aſſured me you take in my juſt grief for the loſs of my mother, and for ſending him

to

to aſſure me of it, that I know not where to begin, nor how to expreſs to you the ſenſe I have of it: I hope you are ſo juſt to me as to believe it much greater then I can make it appear in this paper. I have deſired this bearer to help me to perſuade you of this, and to aſſure you, that I do deſire above all things the continuance of your friendſhip, which I cannot but think I do a little deſerve by being with all the ſincerity and affection imaginable, truly yours,

M. R."

Lord Mordaunt to the Prince of Orange.—In deſpondence.—diſſuades him from taking the bold courſes he had formerly adviſed him to.

SIR,

"IF as to that particular affair I had the honour to give your Highneſs an account of (and that you were pleaſed frankly to ingage in,) my expectations are ſo far diminiſhed, that I think myſelf obliged to own I am become very doubtful of the ſucceſs of it, and for that reaſon muſt rather diſſuade from, than perſuade to the expence thoſe for whom I have, and ought to have the laſt reſpect, and whoſe intereſt I would manage with a tenderneſs, equal to my deſire of ſerving them; yet I think myſelf ſufficiently recompenſed for any private diſappointment by the proſpect of public affairs, and the hopes I have your Highneſs's intereſt increaſes every day more and more in ſtrength, and do not doubt will grow ſtronger even by the endeavours of the court to weaken it, and be paſt being ſhaken by their tricks, or by their power. Monſieur Zuliſten (perhaps more proper, as not taken for a man of buſineſs, but a particular ſervant of your Highneſs's for what he was ſent about) came in a very lucky time, and it was no little ſatisfac-

tion to me to find upon the whole, he will very near give your Highneſs an account of affairs, as I had the honour to repreſent them to you. Sir, I may eaſily fall into miſtakes, but my unfeigned wiſhes for your proſperity, and being entirely convinced we ought to ſerve your Highneſs to the utmoſt of our power, if only upon the principles of ſelf-love and preſervation; but theſe opinions too agreeing with my inclinations, will make me I am ſure never offer to your Highneſs but the true and ſincere thoughts of a heart, that I proteſt, Sir, is entirely yours. I take the liberty to ſend a little pamphlet as it came to my hands, though Monſieur Zuliſten not going to day as he intended, I believe he will carry ſome of them over in print, which may be eaſier read. Theſe who ſent it me, concluded, I believe, the deſign would pleaſe me, and as I was intimating to your Highneſs that I thought ſome of our church would do well to take this ſubject in hand, I was glad to ſee it not ill executed. I hope it will both pleaſe and ſatisfy your Highneſs when you read it. I flatter myſelf I ſhall not be long abſent from Loo, my old paſſport ſtands good ſtill, (my dear Roman Catholic friends not being able to quit their greedy hopes, but perſiſting in their deſires to me, and entreating me every hour to proceed in this affair, though I fear, not with good reaſons of their ſide, of which I ſent Mr. Sidney at large my thoughts, not changed ſince, no more than my reſolutions of following your Highneſs's directions in it, which way ſoever they incline, with all pleaſure and readineſs.) So, Sir, I do not trouble you with any more of public affairs, but that I find Lord Halifax poſitive in his opinion of no parliament: I preſume daily care will be taken, that they may have leſs reaſon every moment to hope to ſucceed in what alone they would have it met for, and ſo it may become probable that the ſeſſion may not be long, but it is beſt erring of the ſurer ſide, and

conclude

conclude that a parliament may ſit, that the beſt means may be taken to prevent its being fatal to us, for blows given by parliament are deadly ones. Your Highneſs I fear will think you have reaſon to judge quite differently of me from what other people do, appearing to you thus upon all occaſions timorous and deſponding. I own, Sir, where your intereſt, or the public is concerned, I may be liable to needleſs fears, out of diffidence that naturally follows a ſincere and real concern; but in the executing part of any commands I ſhall ever receive from your Highneſs, you will give me leave to anſwer for myſelf, and aſſure you, your Highneſs ſhall never find a fault or heſitation in, Sir, &c.

September the 4th, our ſtyle.

Sir, you will excuſe this poſtſcript; of great conſequence I think it is not, but ſince I write my letter, I am informed they are ſending a privy ſeal for Sir Rowl. Gwinn. As he loves talking of buſineſs, I fear he may have been indiſcreet, or elſe it is to endeavour to fright him from coming into England to ſtand for parliament man."

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—In anſwer to the Prince's letter.—The Prince has put queries by Count Zuleiſtein whether there was a probability of a parliament, and what would be the ſucceſs of one.—Thinks there is an intention to call a parliament, but that it will not be ventured.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"I WAS much ſurpriſed to receive the honour of a letter from your Highneſs by Mr. Zuyleſteyn; your acceptance of my ſervice obliges me to the utmoſt fidelity, and is an ample reward of it too.

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I underſtand by Mr. Zuyleſteyn that your Highneſs would know what likelihood there is of the calling and meeting of a parliament; and, if there ſhould be one, what probably may be the ſucceſs of ſuch a meeting.

'Tis very hard to foretell what will be the iſſue of the preſent councils; for though the end at which they aim is very plain and viſible, yet the methods of arriving at that end have been very variable and uncertain; ſo that although in other times the beſt prophecies are the conjectures of wiſe men, yet now perhaps they are the worſt, and to gueſs right is rather luck than wiſdom, which makes me preſume to lay before your Highneſs my apprehenſions, and to hope for your pardon if I ſhould be miſtaken, ſince wiſer men may be ſo too.

I think it is very probable that the preſent reſolution is to have a parliament; the ſudden and ſurpriſing declaration of indulgence to men, who a little before were hated, and laboured under great ſeverities; the placing them in offices of truſt in corporation towns; the encouragement of them to ſtand for members of the next parliament, and the particular reaſon that is given them for it, which is, to repeal the penal laws, in which the Proteſtants and Papiſts ſeem to have a joint intereſt; and this, that it may appear the more ſpecious without abrogating the teſt; all theſe are evidences of their intention to adviſe the calling of a parliament, and together with the King's progreſs into the country, look preparatory to it.

Nevertheleſs, when I conſider what little hopes they can juſtly have of any fruits of thoſe endeavours when a parliament ſhall meet, I do conclude that they will change their councils, and that there will be no parliament this winter.

For it is very likely, that if a parliament ſhould be ſummoned, the members of the church of England, having already given ſufficient evidence of their zeal for their religion

religion and laws, will, upon that account, as well as being the major part of the nation, prevail in moſt elections; ſo that few Diſſenters, upon whom the Papiſts do now depend, will be choſen; and further, I am apt to think, that few Diſſenters will attempt it, as eaſily foreſeeing, that if they do not comply in all things that are expected, or ſhall be aſked of them, they will expoſe themſelves to great diſpleaſure, and ſo run the hazard of forfeiting that toleration which they are well pleaſed to enjoy, though they like not the method by which it is given them.

And it may reaſonably be expected, that ſuch Diſſenters as ſhall be choſen, will not, in their preſent circumſtances, concur to the repeal of ſo much as the penal laws: For this has been their opinion in former parliaments, in which they never would give that eaſe to the Papiſts, which they deſired for themſelves, and to do it now, might encourage the Papiſts to greater attempts; and the Diſſenters would never recover the reproach of having been factors for popery, and the unhappy inſtrument of prejudicing the proteſtant religion; and conſequently will not have ſuch reaſon to expect a like indulgence in other times, as their prudent behaviour in this conjuncture will juſtly intitle them to; and which, they hope, will then be eſtabliſhed to them by a more firm and laſting ſecurity.

But after all, notwithſtanding the pretences of ſome Papiſts and their agents, yet if the Non-conformiſts would repeal the penal laws, it is very probable it would not be granted, unleſs the teſt were taken away too, which is the great obſtruction to the Papiſts deſigns; for though many of the nobility and gentry of that party would acquieſce in the enjoyment of their religion and eſtates; yet if there be reaſon to think, that the zeal of ſome men would go much further, eſpecially of the prieſts,

who can have no intereſt in ſtopping here, ſurely they will never contradict their former artifices, and ſuffer the Diſſenters to be freed from the terror of the laws, which is the moſt probable inducement to them to join with the Papiſts, and without ſuch an union, the Papiſts cannot expect to abrogate the teſt, and complete their deſigns.

And yet, if this repeal of the penal laws would be granted, there are ſo many other things that will be taken into conſideration by a parliament, and of a nature ſo contrary to the preſent intereſt and humour of the Papiſts, that it will be next to impoſſible that there ſhould be time to bring ſuch a bill to perfection, how zealouſly ſoever it may be proſecuted in the Houſe of Commons, or otherwiſe encouraged.

All which difficulties the Papiſts cannot be ſo blind as not to foreſee, or ſo vain as to contend againſt them, as yet, in a parliament.

All which I moſt humbly ſubmit to your Highneſs, and muſt intreat your pardon for the trouble, and the many other faults of ſo long a letter, of which nothing could have made me guilty, but my great zeal, upon all occaſions, to ſhew myſelf," &c.

London, Sept. 2, 1687.

Earl of Danby to the Prince of Orange, in anſwer to one from the Prince.—Zuyleſteyn's ſervices.—Repeats his deſire for a perſonal interview with the Prince.—Refers to Zuyleſteyn.

Wimbledon, Sept. 4, 1687.

"I WAS very proud to receive by Monſieur Zuyleſteyn the honour of a letter from your Highneſs, and to find in it ſo great a condeſcenſion as to remember the ſervices of one, who is now ſo little able to pay any.

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The character your Highneſs gives of Monſ. Zuyleſtein would give me the confidence to ſay any thing to him, which I would venture to ſay to any body but yourſelf; nor would I forbear, upon that recommendation, to ſay to him any thing which were ſo material to your Highneſs's ſervice, as might receive any prejudice by the delay; but I can ſay nothing which is ſo preſſing in point of time, nor would I commit to writing what the thoughts of others are beſides my own, without their conſent, for which I have had no opportunity ſince I received your letter, which was but on the 2d inſtant. I am ſure your Highneſs will receive all neceſſary accounts of things from hence as the occaſions require, and Monſ. Zuyleſtein will inform you of the preſent poſture of all things amongſt us. I confeſs I could wiſh that the underſtanding, both on your Highneſs's part and ours, were more perfect, in relation to ſuch future events as may probably happen (and which are too long to be expreſſed by letters); but I have touched upon ſome things of that kind to Monſ. Zuyleſtein, as queſtions which I have been aſked by others, and he made me ſuch anſwers as I was glad to hear, and which he ſaid he was inſtructed to give, in caſe any ſuch enquiries were made, of which he will give your Highneſs an account. I made ſome open attempts the laſt ſummer, and ſome private ones in this, to have ſeen if I could have gained leave to go into Holland with the ſame indifferency that it is permitted to many others; but I ſtill found deſigns were laid to do me more prejudice by that journey, than I could have done ſervice to your Highneſs. I muſt, therefore, deny myſelf the honour of waiting upon your Highneſs, till my attendance may be as uſeful, as ſuch an occaſion would be agreeable to me; and then nothing ſhall be an hindrance to," &c.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Thinks no parliament will be called, and that the nation will not receive popery.—Adviſes caution.

Auguſt 25, 1687.

"IT would be unneceſſary to give your Highneſs a recommending character of my Lord of Shrewſbury, who hath already ſo good a one eſtabliſhed and allowed in the world; I ſhall only ſay, in ſhort, that he is, without any competition, the moſt conſiderable man of quality that is growing up amongſt us; that he hath right thoughts for the public, and a moſt particular veneration for your Highneſs; he is looſe and untyed from any faction that might render him partial, or give a wrong bias to his opinion; and I do not doubt, but upon the firſt diſcourſe you ſhall have with him, you will be encouraged to treat him without any manner of reſerve. There is ſo little alteration here ſince Monſ. Dickvelt left us, that I can hardly acquaint you of any thing of moment which would be new to you. I have told my Lord Shrewſbury my thoughts, who is very well able to improve and explain them to your Highneſs. It is not to be imagined but that a certain deſign will ſtill go on; all that is to be hoped is, that it will be ſo crippled with the difficulties it every day meeteth with, that it will be diſabled from making ſo ſwift a progreſs as is neceſſary for the end it aimeth at. There are ſome things that can never prevail upon men's minds, if they have time allowed to conſider them; this may be the preſent caſe, the whole kingdom being now ſo well-informed, that all men are ſettled in their diſlike of the unwelcome thing that is endeavoured to be impoſed on them: this conſideration alone freeth me, in a great meaſure, from the fears I might otherwiſe have; not

that

that it throweth me into ſuch a ſecurity as to make me neglect the means that ſhall, from time to time, be thought moſt reaſonable for our preſervation, towards which your Highneſs ſeemeth to us to be in the beſt method that can be imagined, in being firm to your true intereſt, immovable in every thing that is eſſential, and cautious to give no advantage which might, with any colour of reaſon, be made uſe of againſt you. This conduct being continued, can hardly fail, there being ſo many things that concur to make it ſucceed. I find by Monſ. Zuleyſtein, that your Highneſs is inclined to believe there will be a parliament; upon which, being encouraged in my good luck in gueſſing right hitherto upon the ſame ſubject, I take the liberty to tell you that I do not think any will be called, till, by ſome ſudden accident, it ſhall become neceſſary and unavoidable: my reaſons for it will be better repeated by my Lord of Shrewſbury, ſo that I ſhall not now give your Highneſs the trouble of them. We are full of the news from Hungary, which is not equally welcome to the ſeveral Princes in Chriſtendom. We think it may have a conſiderable influence upon this part of the world, and if the ſeaſon was not too far advanced, we are apt to believe France might this very year give ſome trouble to its neighbours. What part we here might have in it, I cannot tell, but ſuppoſe we ſhall be ſlow to engage in a war, which, beſides the expence, to which we cannot furniſh, is liable to ſo many accidents, that we ſhall not be eaſily perſuaded to run the hazard of it. Your Highneſs hath your thoughts intent upon every new thing that ariſeth in the world, and knoweth better than any body how to improve every conjuncture, and turn it to the advantage of that intereſt of which you are the chief ſupport; and as your care and ſkill will never be wanting, ſo, I hope, they will meet with their juſt reward

of good ſucceſs, which is the top of my wiſhes, as it is the utmoſt of my ambition to be ſerviceable to a Prince to whom I am eternally devoted."

London, Auguſt 25, 1687.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.—Zuleyſtin's ſervices.

September 1, 1687.

"HAVING ſo lately written to your Highneſs by my Lord of Shrewſbury, who is able to give you a particular account of things here, I have nothing to acquaint you with by Monſ. Zuleyſtein, who ſeemeth to deſerve the good opinion you have of him, his character agreeing ſo well with his recommendation, that he is extreemely welcome to all thoſe he converſeth with; neither is he wanting to make ſuch obſervations as may be uſeful for your ſervice, by which he layeth a foundation of being ſo well informed of our matters here, that he may prove to be a very good inſtrument to be further employed when the occaſion ſhall require it. The King has returned from his progreſs as far as Oxford, in his way to the Bath; and we do not hear that his obſervations, or his journey, can give him any great encouragement to build any hopes upon, as to the carrying on ſome things, which appear every day to be more againſt the grain. Beſides the conſiderations of conſcience, and the public intereſt, it is grown into a point of honour, univerſally received by the nation, not to change their opinion, which will make all attempts to the contrary very ineffectual. A parliament is ſtill talked of, but I find no cauſe to alter my judgement in that matter, it being ſtill the ſame I have already told your Highneſs, and of which I have deſired my Lord of Shrewſbury to give you ſome of the reaſons that induce me to it. I have no more

more to add, but that I am, and ever will be, unalterably devoted to you."

Bishop of London to the Prince of Orange.—In answer to a letter from the Prince.—The church of England steady.—The Dissenters, he hopes, will open their eyes.

SIR, September 5.

"YOUR remembrance of me by Monsr. Zuilisten, has obliged me to acknowledge that great honour by this means; and though I have nothing of moment proper to communicate by writing, nevertheless it is of moment to me, not to lye under the imputation of ingratitude, lest I should justly lose so great a satisfaction, as sometimes to be owned amongst your most humble servants. If you shall find by the account Monsr. Zuilisten gives you, that I have communicated nothing to him worthy that confidence you were pleased to recommend, I beseech you not to believe that it has proceeded from any reservedness, where I had so strong an assurance from yourself, but that I had no more to say; for since my misfortune of lying under his Majesty's displeasure, I frequently retire into the country out of reach of the great news, and when I am in town I meet with little but what is so public, that it would be impertinent for me to repeat it. We have daily complaints how busy the priests are amongst the conventicles, but we hope a few discoveries will make that party wiser. The clergy continue very firm to their principles, very watchful over their flocks, and very dutiful to the King; and, next to my allegiance, I can confidently aver, that there is no duty which I shall not most chearfully pay to your service, and pray God for your prosperity all the days of my life."

N° III.

Letters carried by other perſons than Dyckvelt and Zulieſtein, to the Prince about the ſame time, from Lord Devonſhire, Lady Sunderland, the Biſhop of London, the Marquis of Wincheſter, the Lords Shrewſbury, Danby, and Halifax.

There is no doubt that the petition and impriſonment of the Biſhops were the immediate cauſes of the dethronement of King James, becauſe they ſet the ſpirits of men, which were moving only ſlowly before, in an inſtant in a ferment. Between the time of Dyckvelt's return to Holland, and the petition of the Biſhops, the Prince received, among others letters, the following from England. They are all in the box.

The Earl of Devonſhire to the Prince of Orange.—Complains of his own injuries, the nation's, and the Prince's.

SIR,

"I WISH my preſent circumſtances would allow me to be any ways ſerviceable to your Highneſs; but as they are, if I did not believe you had much better intelligence from other hands than I am able to give, I ſhould preſume now and then to ſend your Highneſs an account of affairs according to my weak apprehenſion of them. And to that end (if your Highneſs permit) I have thought of a private way of writing, which Mr. Forreſter will acquaint you with. I have been hardly enough uſed in my own particular, but I conceive the whole nation is not much better; and for any things appears to me, I cannot but think, as things are like to be carried, both here and in Ireland, your Highneſs's in-

tereſt is like to ſuffer. I dare not enlarge upon particulars, but beg of your Highneſs to believe, that I wiſh my liberty for nothing more, than to have ſome occaſion to ſhew myſelf, Sir," &c.

July 10, Old Stile.

The Biſhop of London to the Prince of Orange, in anſwer to the Prince's letter.—Thanks for his aſſurances to the church of England.

SIR, October 27, 1687.

"THE terms by which you were pleaſed to expreſs yourſelf in reference to the church of England, were every way ſo obliging and ſatisfactory, that I look upon myſelf as bound in duty to acknowledge the deep ſenſe I and every true member of the ſame church ought to have of ſo great a bleſſing. And though you are at preſent at a diſtance from us, and not ſo well able to partake of the fruits of ſo good intentions, yet when we ſhall have ſerved this King with all fidelity, ſo long as it ſhall pleaſe God to continue him amongſt us; as none that know you will queſtion the ſincerity of your performance, ſo, I make no doubt, but you will ſoon find the benefit of having taken up ſo wiſe reſolutions. For, Sir, you that ſee all the great motions of the world, and can ſo well judge of them, know there is no reliance upon any thing that is not ſteady to principles, and prefers not the common good before private intereſt. I pray God continue to be gracious to you, and to direct and proſper all your councils, and to crown the endeavours of your life with the conſummation of all happineſs; which ſhall ever be the moſt hearty prayer of, Sir," &c.

Lady

Lady Sunderland to the Prince of Orange, in answer to the Prince's letter.—Assurances of her attachment.

SIR,

"WHEN there is such an occasion as Mr. Sidney has offered me, of writing by one of your Highness's servants, I could not forgive myself if I did neglect returning you my humble thanks for the honour of your letter by Mr. Sidney. I do think myself very happy to have done any thing you like and accept, and which I can never fail of, if ever it were in my power to express my zeal and affection for your service, which can never alter but with my life. Till this opportunity I durst not so much as return your Highness my thanks for your favourable reception of my intentions; and I have at present so great a head ache, that I have writ, if possible, a stranger hand than ordinary; but yet I could not lose this opportunity of assuring you of my being, with all the duty, as well as inclination, Sir," &c.

Dec. 23, 1687.

Translation.

The Earl of Devonshire to the Prince of Orange.—Congratulates him on his conduct about Fagel and Stuart's letters.

"I Cannot let this occasion pass of assuring your Highness of my most humble services, and to take the liberty of testifying to you, in a few words, my thoughts upon the letter which has appeared here a few days ago under the name of Mr. Fagel. People are in raptures to find the sentiments of your Highness and of the Princess in matters of religion, not only so equitable, but so agreeable to the interest, and to the taste of all the nation, except those who by a pretended liberty of conscience seek the

the opportunity to deſtroy it intirely, as in effect is ſeen in all places where they have the power to do it. People remark in the letter a diſtinction altogether judicious between the laws which are called Penal, and thoſe of the Teſt; ſeeing theſe laſt have no regard but to the maintainance of the religion and government, which without this bulwark run a great riſk of being overturned. What regards me in particular, is not worth the while to trouble your Highneſs with; yet I do not wiſh that you ſhould know it from others, before I do myſelf the honour to touch upon it to you. I take then the liberty to inform you, that the marriage of my ſon with the daughter of Lady Ruſſel is upon the point of being concluded; to which I beg the approbation of your Highneſs, which will always regulate the conduct of," &c.

The Marquis of Wincheſter to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in anſwer to a letter from the Prince.—His gratitude for the honour of it.

"I AM ſo ſenſible of the great honour that your Highneſs is pleaſed, by my dear nephew Howe, to expreſs for me, and likewiſe the great grace and favour he received from your Highneſs, that I hold myſelf obliged (with all humble ſubmiſſion for the preſumption) to declare my gratitude under my own hand, intreating your Highneſs to believe, that my prayers and beſt wiſhes are and ever ſhall be for your increaſe of glory and happineſs ſuitable to your bravery and merit, and that high eſteem your Highneſs has over all this part of the world, which ſhall always have the firſt place in the heart of," &c.

Baſing, Feb. 20, 1687-8.

Earl of Shrewſbury to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in anſwer to a letter from the Prince.—Is to be with the Prince in ſummer.—The King makes no progreſs either in England or Scotland.

London, March 14, 1687-8.

"I Could not, Sir, let Mr. Howe, who goes away this afternoon, part without making my humble acknowledgements to your Highneſs for the kind expreſſions in your letter; if the ſtate of our affairs here will any ways permit, I will not fail this ſummer to pay them in perſon, and ſhall be diſappointed of a journey I very earneſtly ſet my heart upon, if things ſhould come to ſuch an extreme as to prevent me. The only conſiderable news I can learn here is, that there has a diſagreement happened between my Lord Sunderland and Fra. Peters; how that may be compoſed, or what conſequences it will have if it continues, I dare not decide. Though we conſtantly talk of a parliament, yet I imagine our miniſters are a little at a ſtand in their councils, when they conſider how unanimous the anſwers have been through all the counties; neither have they met with much better ſucceſs, as I am informed, in Scotland. I have this very morning, Sir, met with a report, which though I hope it is not true, yet it has renewed the fears I have very often had for you: we are told there is a man ſeized at the Hague for attempting to poiſon you. Though I have not this from ſo ſure hands as to give abſolute credit to it, yet I cannot help putting your Highneſs in mind how poſſible it is, and beg in the behalf of millions that you will take care of yourſelf; it ſeems hard that one ſhould be ſolicitous for others ſake, when one is naturally not ſo for oneſelf. But the ſame generoſity that in ordinary caſes makes one deſpiſe a life, in ſo extraordinary a circumſtance as yours obliges

obliges you to be careful, ſince the ſecurity and happineſs not only of many men but many nations depend upon it; be, Sir, but as zealous to preſerve yourſelf for the common good, as you have been forward to expoſe it for the ſame cauſe, and all your ſervants will remain ſatisfied with your care: That it may be effectual ſhall be the daily and hearty wiſhes of," &c.

Marquis of Wincheſter to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe, in anſwer to a letter from the Prince.—Probably a cant letter aſſuring the Prince of his ſervices.

"I Received your moſt ſerene Highneſs's letter, and ſince you are pleaſed to deſire the concluſion of the match propoſed, to ſhow your Highneſs how ready I am on my part in obeying your commands, I have immediately ſent over a gentleman to make out what I have promiſed (which I will perform) by Captain Howe my dear nephew, and I do not doubt but that the Marquis of Montpelier, my ancient friend and acquaintance, will do the ſame, and then this gentleman I ſend has power to conclude. I am infinitely obliged to your Highneſs for your many kind expreſſions to me, which I will always own by all the duty and ſervice that ever can be paid by," &c.

Baſing, April 16, 1688.

Marquis of Wincheſter to the Prince of Orange.—Sends over his two ſons to the Prince.

Baſing, April 23, 1688.

"I Cannot omitt any opportunity humbly to preſent my duty and ſervice to your moſt ſerene Highneſs by a ſafe hand. This I know to be ſo, having had great experience of my friend captain Man's fidelity and ingenuitie, hav-

ing intruſted him in many matters of great moment, in which I always received full and ample ſatisfaction; I therefore have humbly recommended him to your Highneſs's favour, which he is very ambitious to have. I hope this ſmall eſſay of my ſervice will be agreeable to your moſt ſerene Highneſs, offered with all duty, by, &c.

I humbly deſire leave to preſent my humble duty and ſervice to her royal Highneſs.

My ſon Wilts will ſoon pay his own and my duty to your moſt ſerene Highneſs, going over this week; my ſon William is impatient to do the ſame, and though I am loath to part with him before his brother returns, yet I have that deſire that all mine ſhould ſhew their duty to your Highneſs, that I will deny my own inclination (as ſoon as I can overcome it), and ſend him to lie at your feet, for he is wholly devoted to your ſervice and intereſt. I envy my ſon's happineſs, which nothing but my ill health could hinder me from enjoying, but I freely ſubmitt to God's will to be deprived of that great pleaſure I deſire earneſtly."

Part of a letter from Lord Danby to the Prince of Orange.—Inſinuates ſuſpicions of the Queen's pregnancy.—The nation wants only an opportunity to ſhow their zeal for his ſervice.

London, March 27, 1688.

"MANY of our ladies ſay, that the Queen's great belly ſeems to grow faſter than they have obſerved their own to do; and becauſe it is fit her Majeſty ſhould always have the greateſt perſons near her in this condition, I hope the Princeſs will take care that the Princeſs Anne may be always within call; and eſpecially to ſee (when the time is near) that the midwife diſcharges her duty with that care which ought to be had in a caſe of ſo great concern.

cern. Our zeal here for the Proteſtant religion does apparently increaſe every day in all parts of the nation, and the examination of the minds of the nobility and gentry has made ſuch an union for the defence of it through the kingdom, that I verily believe they begin to deſpair of ſupplanting it by violent means, and it is certain they can do it no other way. The conſtancy and firmneſs which both the Princeſſes have ſhewed in their religion, and your Highneſs's mind in relation to things here (which was ſo prudently made known by Monſieur Fagel's letter), has ſo contributed alſo to add courage to that union, that I look upon our ſecurity to be much ſtrengthened by it, as well as both your Highneſſes intereſts raiſed here beyond your own expectations, inſomuch that I am confident there wants only an opportunity to the greateſt part of the nation to ſhew their zeal for your ſervice. I muſt beg your Highneſs's excuſe for ſo tedious a letter, and yet I am deſirous to have ſaid much more, but that without ſome diſcourſe to explain myſelf, I might be liable either to have my meaning miſtaken, or not fully underſtood, which would only be to give your Highneſs an uſeleſs trouble.

I have one thing only to lament, that although our union in general be very great, yet particular diſtruſts are ſo great alſo, as render many good intentions very ineffectual. I am, with all that duty and reſpect I ought to be, your Highneſs's moſt faithful and obedient ſervant."

Part of Lord Danby's letter to the Prince of Orange.—The King's ſuſpicions of the Prince.

London, March 29, 1688.

"I AM forced to give your Highneſs the trouble of this ſecond letter, to inform you, that upon my ſon's aſking the King's leave to go beyond ſea, his Majeſty granted

granted the leave, but ſaid with ſome heat, Provided it be not into Holland, for I will ſuffer nobody to go thither. My ſon anſwering that he had no deſign of any thing but to ſee a country he had not ſeen; the King anſwered, Perhaps ſo, but he had relations who had other deſigns there, and he knew there were thoſe in Holland who gave themſelves hopes of ſeeing ſome Engliſh lords at the head of ſome of their ſquadrons, but he would take care to prevent it. After this diſcourſe to my ſon, which was in a room next to the bed-chamber, he came out into the bed-chamber, and my Lord Dumbarton and Lord Litchfield being only there, the King ſaid to my Lord Dumbarton, I find they are much ſurpriſed in Holland with my raiſing three new regiments; to which my Lord Dumbarton anſwered, that he wondered why they ſhould be ſo; the King replied, they would be ſurpriſed much more before he had done with them. This was on the 27th at night, and on the 28th my ſon went to court to get his paſs from one of the Secretaries of State, and the King happening to ſee him, called him to one ſide of the room, and ſaid, My Lord, I had newly received ſome news laſt night when you ſpoke to me, which had diſturbed me, and made me ſpeak to you in ſome diſorder, therefore I would not have you take notice of any thing I then ſaid to you, for I dare truſt you to go where you will; but ſaid, If you go only for curioſity, you might as well ſatisfy that elſewhere as in Holland."

Tranſlation.

Earl of Devonſhire to the Prince of Orange, by Mr. Howe. Inſinuates ſuſpicions of the Queen's pregnancy.

My Lord,

"I HAVE not found an occaſion before the departure of Mr. Howe to teſtify my humble gratitude to your Highneſs for all your goodneſs to me. Affairs here are almoſt

almoſt in the ſame ſtate. The King declares always his intentions to aſſemble a parliament, although matters do not ſeem diſpoſed for it; they believe that it will be about the time of the Queen's being brought to bed. The Roman Catholics incline abſolutely that it ſhould be a ſon; and beſides, the army at Hounſlow will be in the neighbourhood. Theſe are only conjectures, and your Highneſs cannot want lights much more authentic, than thoſe which I am capable of giving. But it is certain, that we expect great extremities. All our hopes are founded upon the ſecurity of your perſon, and that of the Princeſs, both of whom may God preſerve from all plots and attacks. Nobody wiſhes it with more ardour and paſſion, than does, my Lord, the moſt obſequious and the moſt humble of all your ſervants."

13th March, Old Stile.

Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—The King gains nothing on the nation.—Adviſes to cautious meaſures.

"I Avoid giving your Highneſs unneceſſary trouble, and though this hath a good conveyance, yet it may, perhaps, be ſo long in its way to you, that it will not be pertinent to repeat what you will have had from other hands. There hath been little that is new this great while, ſince either the old methods have continued, or elſe what appeareth to be new, is at leaſt not ſtrange, being produced by a natural conſequence, and therefore to be reaſonably expected and foreſeen. In ſome particulars, to men at a diſtance, the engine ſeemeth to move faſt, but by looking nearer, one may ſee it doth not ſtir upon the whole matter, ſo that here is a rapid motion without advancing a ſtep, which is the only miracle that church hath yet ſhewed to us. Every attempt turneth back upon them. They change the magiſtracy in the corporations, and ſtill for the worſe, as to their deſigns. The irregular

lar methods have ſpent themſelves without effect; they have run ſo faſt that they begin to be out of breath, and the exerciſe of extraordinary powers, both eccleſiaſtical and civil, is ſo far from fixing the right of them, that men are more united in objecting to them. The world is ſtill where it was, with this only difference, that it groweth every day more averſe to that which is endeavoured to be impoſed upon them. The very Papiſts who have eſtates, act like preſſed men, and have ſuch an eye to what may happen in a revolution, that their preſent advantages hardly make amends for their fears; upon the whole, they are ſo divided between the fear of loſing their opportunity by delay, or ſpoiling it with too much haſte, that their ſteps are wavering and uncertain, and diſtruſting the very inſtruments they uſe, they are under great mortifications, notwithſtanding the appearance of carrying every thing without oppoſition. Being thus diſcouraged by their ill ſucceſs in their attempts, ſome ſay they are altering their ſcheme, and not finding their expectations anſwered by the Diſſenters, they have thoughts of returning to their old friends, the High Church Men; but the truth is, the Papiſts have of late been ſo hard and fierce upon them, that the very ſpecies of thoſe formerly miſtaken men is deſtroyed; they have ſo broken that loom in pieces, that they cannot now ſet it up again to work upon it: In the mean time the men at the helm are certainly divided amongſt themſelves, which will produce great effects, if men will let it work, and not prevent the advantages that may be expected, by being too unquiet, or doing things out of ſeaſon; the great thing to be done now, is to do nothing, but wait for the good conſequences of their diviſions and miſtakes. Unſeaſonable ſtirrings, or any thing that looketh like the Proteſtants being the aggreſſors, will tend to unite them, and by that means will be a diſappointment to thoſe hopes, which otherwiſe can hardly

fail: Nothing, therefore, in the preſent conjuncture can be more dangerous than unſkilful agitators, warm men, who would be active at a wrong time, and want patience to keep their zeal from running away with them. It is ſaid by ſome, that there is an intention of making a new attempt to beget a better underſtanding with your Highneſs; that in order to it, the preſent Envoy, as leſs acceptable, is to be removed, and another ſent, who, if he ſhould be leſs known, may, perhaps, for that very reaſon, be the more dangerous: If this ſhould be true, and that ſofter propoſals ſhould be made from hence, it will deſerve all your caution to receive them ſo as neither to give advantage by rejecting them too roughly on one ſide, or on the other, by giving any colour for them to pretend there is a conſent given to any thing that may be inconvenient. After the reports raiſed here, without any manner of ground, firſt of your Highneſs being a Papiſt, then of your being deſirous to have the Teſt repealed, there is nothing of that kind which may not be thought poſſible; ſo that if there ſhould now be any nearer treaty, it might, perhaps, be made uſe of with more advantage by them, to miſlead men at a diſtance into a wrong belief. In lower inſtances, it hath not been unuſual, in ſuch caſes, to ſet propoſals on foot, of which no other effect is expected, than to bring men under doubts and ſuſpicions from their own friends. The inſtruments that ſhall be made uſe of, their intereſts and dependencies being well conſidered and examined, will give a great deal of light, if any thing of this kind ſhould be attempted; and it happeneth well, that they will have to do with one who knoweth ſo well how to judge of men and things, as not to be within the danger of being eaſily ſurpriſed, neither by any upon this occaſion, nor by any other of our countrymen who ſpeak what is dictated to them by men of ſeveral intereſts, or endeavour to value

themſelves upon their correſpondencies and influences here, which, I doubt, have ſeldom foundation enough for your Highneſs to build upon. There can be nothing better recommended to you, than the continuance of the method which you practiſe; neither comply in any thing that is unfit, nor to provoke further anger by any act that is unneceſſary. This will not, perhaps, be ſufficient to prevent ill-will, but it will, in a great meaſure, ſecure you from the ill effects of it. Your Highneſs muſt allow me to applaud my good fortune in not having hitherto made a wrong conjecture about the ſitting of the parliament: Notwithſtanding the diſcourſes that have been made by the great men, with the greateſt aſſurance, that it would meet one time after another, I ever thought it impracticable, conſidering the meaſures that are taken, and I am now as much an unbeliever for October, as I was for April, which was the time prefixed for the meeting; with all this your Highneſs muſt expect, that it will ſtill be given out, there will be one; it is not, perhaps, thought convenient, neither indeed would it be ſo, that all foreign Princes and States ſhould conclude, there never will be a parliament in England in this King's reign; a great deal would depend upon ſuch an opinion received, which would have an influence upon their manner of treating with us; but according to the moſt rational conjecture, how extraordinary ſoever things may appear which have been done, the letting a parliament meet as matters now ſtand, would ſo undo them all, that it is hardly to be ſuppoſed poſſible. The other great point which at preſent maketh the diſcourſe is, whether England will have a war with the States; in this, the more thinking ſort of men are of opinion there will be none. There is diſpoſition enough for it, for reaſons which need not be explained; but there are ſo many diſcouraging circumſtances, and the prejudice from ill

ill ſucceſs would be ſo much greater than the utmoſt which can be hoped in caſe of proſpering, that the men in power muſt go againſt all the common methods of arguing, if they venture upon an experiment which may be ſo deſtructive to them. I have tired your Highneſs ſo long, that it is time for me to cloſe with my wiſhes for your own and the Princeſs's health, which are of that conſequence to the world, that nothing can be deſperate whilſt you are well and ſafe. For myſelf, I muſt ever be unalterably devoted to you."

London, April 12, 1688.

Some of the preceding letters mention the vain attempts of the King to gain over individuals to agree to the abolition of the Teſts. The following papers are authentic evidences of this.

King James to the Duke of Hamilton.—Deſires a poſitive anſwer whether he will agree to the abolition of the Teſts. —In the Duke of Hamilton's poſſeſſion.

Whitehall, Feb. 11, 1688.

"BEFORE this gets to you, you will have had time to diſcourſe with ſome one of the law, as well as of the goſpel, concerning the Teſt and Penal laws, ſo that you may as well now, as at any time, give an account if you can comply with what I deſire, and join with thoſe of my loyal ſubjects who are for the repeal of theſe laws and Teſt, and for ſettling an entire liberty of conſcience, which you know is what I drive at, and make no doubts of bringing about in all my dominions. You ſee the condeſcenſion I had for you, in not expecting an anſwer from you before you left this place, and that now I do not let this queſtion be aſked

you by any but myſelf; but now I muſt do it, and expect your poſitive anſwer to theſe points I have mentioned to you, and of which I diſcourſed with you before you went, and that by letter to myſelf. If you come the length of what I deſire, of which I can make no doubt, then I leave it to you to let the reſt of theſe, I truſt in my affairs there, know it or not, as you think beſt. But in caſe you cannot comply, then you are to let nobody know it but myſelf and Lord Sunderland, who ſends this to you: And I expect your poſitive anſwer within two or three days after your having received this.

JAMES R."

The Duke of Hamilton to King James, in anſwer to the foregoing.—Deſires time to conſider.

SIR,

"YOUR Majeſty's letter did extremely ſurpriſe me, to find I had miſtaken the time your Majeſty had allowed me to conſider of the repealing our Penal laws and Teſt. Since I came to this place I have had very ill health, and this being the laſt week of the ſeſſion, I have not had the opportunities ſo to diſcourſe with any one of the law or goſpel, as to receive that ſatisfaction as I can give your Majeſty a poſitive anſwer how far I may join in the repeal of the Penal laws and Teſt for ſettling an intire liberty of conſcience. I have been ever, and am ſtill of the ſame opinion, that none ſhould ſuffer for conſcience-ſake; and that every peaceable ſubject ſhould be allowed the exerciſe of their own religion; but how this is to be done with ſecurity to the Proteſtant religion, our laws, and oaths, is in my humble opinion what will deſerve ſerious conſideration, and is above what I can preſently determine myſelf in. Therefore I do

do moſt humbly beg of your Majeſty to pardon my not being more poſitive in my anſwer, and allow me a forbearance till I wait on you, and your Majeſty may be aſſured, as on earth I deſire nothing ſo much as your favour; ſo it will be no earthly conſideration will make me do any thing to loſe it, which would be the greateſt affliction could come to, Sir," &c.

In Lord Preſton's copy-book of diſpatches there is the following order.

"THAT the Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Cumberland and Weſtmoreland do call before him, all the deputy-lieutenants, and juſtices of the peace, within his lieutenancy, either jointly, or ſeparately, as he ſhall think beſt, and aſk them, one by one, the following queſtions.

1. If in caſe he ſhall be choſen Knight of the Shire, or Burgeſſe of a town, when the King ſhall think fit to call a parliament, whether he will be for taking off the Penal laws, and the Teſts.

2. Whether he will aſſiſt, and contribute, to the election of ſuch member, as ſhall be for taking off the Penal laws, and Teſts.

3. Whether he will ſupport the King's declaration for liberty of conſcience, by living friendly with thoſe of all perſuaſions, as ſubjects of the ſame Prince, and good Chriſtians ought to do.

As he ſhall aſk theſe queſtions of all deputy-lieutenants, and juſtices of the peace; ſo he ſhall particularly write down what every one anſwers, whether he conſents, refuſeth, or is doubtful.

That he likewiſe do bring the King as good an account as he can of all the ſeveral corporations within the lieutenancy. What perſons, of ſuch as are willing to comply

comply with theſe meaſures, have credit enough of their own, to be choſen parliament men, or may be choſen, if aſſiſted by their friends.

And laſtly, what Catholics, and what Diſſenters are fit to be added, either to the liſt of the deputy-lieutenants, or to the commiſſion of the peace, throughout the ſaid lieutenancy."

N° IV.

Letters to the Prince from Admiral Herbert, the Lords Shrewſbury, Lumley, Mr. Sidney, the Lords Latimer, Pembroke, Clarendon, Rocheſter, Halifax, and Nottingham; Admiral Ruſſel, the Biſhop of London, and Lord Churchill; together with the aſſociation of ſeven, which contain the intrigues of the Prince of Orange in England in the ſummer of the year 1688, *conducted by Mr. Sydney and Count Zulieſtein.*

After the petition of the Biſhops, the connexion of the Prince of Orange with the friends of liberty in England was carried on chiefly by Mr. Ruſſel afterwards Earl of Orford, and Mr. Sidney afterwards Earl of Romney, until the birth of the Prince of Wales, when the careleſs air of Count Zuliſten was a ſecond time made uſe of upon an errand of ceremony, to congratulate the birth of the Prince of Wales. But the real intention of his journey was to concert with the Prince's friends, his intended expedition to England.

From the time of the Biſhops preſenting their petition in the middle of May 1688, till the beginning of Auguſt, when Mr. Sidney went to Holland, and Count Zuliſten returned to it, there are in King William's cabinet the following letters, among others, to the Prince of Orange.

Admiral Herbert to the Prince of Orange.—Upon the Prince's invitation communicated by Ruſſel, is ſoon to go to Holland.

SIR,

"IT is from your Highneſs's great generoſity, that I muſt hope for pardon for preſuming to write in ſo unpoliſhed a ſtile, which will not furniſh me with words ſuitable to the ſenſe I have of your Highneſs's goodneſs to me in the midſt of my misfortunes. Sir, it is from Mr. Ruſſel I have underſtood it to be your pleaſure I ſhould come over, where I may be aſſured of your Highneſs's protection; it is a favour I mean very ſoon to embrace, though I can never ſufficiently acknowledge it either by expreſſion or action, and therefore can only ſay, I have a life entirely at your devotion, and that I ſhall think every hour of it loſt that is not employed in your Highneſs's ſervice, to which if I can any ways contribute I ſhall no longer think myſelf unfortunate: This is what I moſt humbly beg your Highneſs will believe, and that I am with great ſincerity, Sir," &c.

London, May the 24th.

Lord Shrewſbury to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious for a pretence to go to the Prince.

London, May 14, 1688.

"WE live here, Sir, in a country where one muſt be of a very temperate conſtitution, not to meet with vexations that will more than try one's patience. I confeſs I had ſo ſet my heart upon the hopes of kiſſing your Highneſs's hands this ſummer, that it is with great regret that I ſee myſelf in danger of being diſappointed of what I ſhall always eſteem my pleaſure as well as my duty: But wiſer people aſſure me, that the jealouſies of our

our ſuperiors augment ſo faſt, that ſuch a journey would be unſerviceable to you, as well as unſafe to me. There is not a day that Mr. Sidney and I do not heartily lament this diſappointment, and when one conſiders, that theſe ſuſpicions are merely grounded upon their own actions, and the reſentment they gueſs we may have of them, but not upon any occaſion we have given, it ſeems a little too ſevere to be puniſhed and reſtrained, becauſe one has been already ill uſed. If I am a little warmer upon this ſubject than I ought, you would ſoon pardon me, if you knew how much I abominate all excuſes; becauſe commonly they are but ſhifts; and now to be forced to make one to your Highneſs, who of all men living I honour and eſteem the moſt, is a hardſhip I cannot eaſily forgive; but I will not yet abſolutely deſpair, there are many accidents may happen to give me a pretence, and the leaſt plauſible one I aſſure you ſhall ſerve my turn; and in what part of the world ſoever I am, I ſhall always be, Sir," &c.

Lord Lumley to the Prince of Orange.—With an offer of his ſervices.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"THE reſpect and duty of all that can ſafely call themſelves Engliſhmen is ſo much due to your Highneſs, that to defer any opportunity of ſhowing it were to neglect that intereſt which can only make us happy. This, Sir, encouraged me humbly to offer to your Highneſs the utmoſt of my ſervices, and to aſſure you that there is not a man in England, on whom your Highneſs may more certainly depend for whatever ſervice I am capable of doing you. Until ſuch time as I may have the honour of receiving any directions from your Highneſs, the good of my country ſhall be by all means

endeavoured by me, on whoſe fate your Highneſs's does not a little depend. That happineſs may enſue to both, ſhall be always the endeavour of your Highneſs's," &c.

May 31ſt.

There is in the cabinet the following key to names in the hand-writing of Mr. Sidney, incloſed in one of his letters at this time to the Prince of Orange, without which the cyphers in ſome of the letters could not be underſtood.

"*Lord Halifax*	21
Lord of Nottingham	23
Lo d Devonſhire	24
Lord Shrewſbury	25
Lord of Danby	27
Lord Lumley	29
Lord of Bath	30
Biſhop of London	31
Mr. Sidney	33
Mr. Ruſſel	35

This I deſire you to keep by you."

Notwithſtanding the Prince of Orange's deſire to go to England, he avoided indulging it, until he ſhould receive an invitation from ſome of the great Engliſh families. The following letter written either in a woman's hand, or in a hand feigned like a woman's, relates to ſuch an invitation then in agitation.

To the Prince of Orange.—The invitation he expects not yet ready.—Lord Halifax backward.

June 18, 1688.

"THIS I ſuppoſe will be ſafely delivered, but yet I ſhall not ſay much; in a few days you will receive another, wherein you will know the mind of your

friends. I believe you expected it before now, but it could not be ready; this is only in the name of your principal friends, which are Notting. 23. Shrewſb. 25. Danby. 27. B. of London. 31. Sidney. 33. to deſire you to defer making your complement till you have the letter I mention; what they are likely to adviſe in the next, you may eaſily gueſs, and prepare yourſelf accordingly. I ſhall write by Mr. Foſter, who hath a mind to be employed, and will talk to you of things of importance; you know how he is to be managed, therefore I need give no further caution. The Lords I believe will act vigorouſly in the buſineſs of the biſhops; they (the biſhops) reſolve when they come to their trial to deny the juriſdiction of court, which will anger extremely, and draw great puniſhment upon themſelves. Then the Lords will petition in their behalf. Halifax. 21. hath been backward in all this matter. Devonſhire. 24. hath been with me this afternoon, and I find will be entirely your friend."

Earl of Shrewſbury to the Prince of Orange.—He is as much his ſervant on the 18*th, as he was on the* 9*th of June.*

London, June 18, 1688.

"RATHER than diſoblige Mr. Foſter, I am forced to trouble your Highneſs. I promiſed to write by him, and had then a proſpect of ſaying more than I am now able to do, but I hope that will not be deferred many days. I have the honour and happineſs to know your humour too well to fill up a letter with compliments, having nothing ſubſtantial to ſay, but that I am this eighteenth of June as much as I was the ninth, your Highneſs's moſt devoted, and obedient, humble ſervant."

The expreſſion in this letter, that he was as much the Prince of Orange's at the date of the letter, is ſingular.

It

It either refers to ſome meeting of the party which had been on the 9th of June, or it implies that the birth of the Prince of Wales, which was on the 10th of June, has made no alteration in his ſentiments.

At length the invitation for the Prince to come over, or rather the aſſociation for joining him when he ſhould come, was ſigned on the 30th of June 1688, by Lord Devonſhire, Lord Danby, Lord Shrewſbury, Lord Lumley, the Biſhop of London, Admiral Ruſſel, and Mr. Sidney. Immortal ſeven! whoſe memories Britain can never ſufficiently revere. The original is in Sidney's hand in King William's cabinet, as follows:

The aſſociation ſigned only by ſeven, inviting the Prince of Orange over.

June 30, 1688.

"WE have great ſatisfaction to find by 35, and ſince by Monſ. Zuleſtein, that your Highneſs is ſo ready and willing to give us ſuch aſſiſtance as they have related to us. We have great reaſon to believe, we ſhall be every day in a worſe condition than we are, and leſs able to defend ourſelves, and therefore we do earneſtly wiſh we might be ſo happy as to find a remedy before it be too late for us to contribute to our own deliverance; but although theſe be our wiſhes, yet we will, by no means, put your Highneſs into any expectations which may miſguide your own councils in this matter; ſo that the beſt advice we can give, is to inform your Highneſs truly both of the ſtate of things here at this time, and of the difficulties which appear to us. As to the firſt, the people are ſo generally diſſatisfied with the preſent conduct of the government, in relation to their religion, liberties and properties (all which have been greatly invaded), and they are in ſuch expectation of their proſpects being daily

worſe, that your Highneſs may be aſſured, there are nineteen parts of twenty of the people throughout the kingdom, who are deſirous of a change; and who, we believe, would willingly contribute to it, if they had ſuch a protection to countenance their riſing, as would ſecure them from being deſtroyed, before they could get to be in a poſture able to defend themſelves; it is no leſs certain, that much the greateſt part of the nobility and gentry are as much diſſatisfied, although it be not ſafe to ſpeak to many of them before hand; and there is no doubt but that ſome of the moſt conſiderable of them would venture themſelves with your Highneſs at your firſt landing, whoſe intereſts would be able to draw great numbers to them, whenever they could protect them and the raiſing and drawing men together; and if ſuch a ſtrength could be landed as were able to defend itſelf and them, till they could be got together into ſome order, we make no queſtion but that ſtrength would quickly be increaſed to a number double to the army here, although their army ſhould all remain firm to them; whereas we do upon very good grounds believe, that their army then would be very much divided among themſelves; many of the officers being ſo diſcontented that they continue in their ſervice only for a ſubſiſtence (beſides that, ſome of their minds are known already), and very many of the common ſoldiers do daily ſhew ſuch an averſion to the Popiſh religion, that there is the greateſt probability imaginable of great numbers of deſerters which would come from them, ſhould there be ſuch an occaſion; and amongſt the ſeamen, it is almoſt certain, there is not one in ten who would do them any ſervice in ſuch a war. Beſides all this, we do much doubt, whether this preſent ſtate of things will not yet be much changed to the worſe before another year, by a great alteration which will probably be made both in the officers and ſoldiers of the army, and by ſuch other changes as are not only to be

expected

expected from a packed parliament, but what the meeting of any parliament (in our preſent circumſtances) may produce againſt thoſe, who will be looked upon as principal obſtructers of their proceedings there; it being taken for granted, that if things cannot then be carried to their wiſhes in a parliamentary way, other meaſures will be put in execution by more violent means; and although ſuch proceedings will then heighten the diſcontents, yet ſuch courſes will probably be taken at that time, as will prevent all poſſible means of relieving ourſelves.

Theſe conſiderations make us of opinion, that this is a ſeaſon in which we may more probably contribute to our own ſafeties than hereafter (although we muſt own to your Highneſs there are ſome judgments differing from ours in this particular), in ſo much that if the circumſtances ſtand ſo with your Highneſs, that you believe you can get here time enough, in a condition to give aſſiſtances this year ſufficient for a relief under theſe circumſtances which have been now repreſented, we who ſubſcribe this, will not fail to attend your Highneſs upon your landing, and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others to be in as much readineſs as ſuch an action is capable of, where there is ſo much danger in communicating an affair of ſuch a nature, till it be near the time of its being made public. But as we have already told your Highneſs, we muſt alſo lay our difficulties before your Highneſs, which are chiefly; that we know not what alarum your preparations for this expedition may give, or what notice it will be neceſſary for you to give the States before hand, by either of which means their intelligence or ſuſpicions here, may be ſuch, as may cauſe us to be ſecured before your landing; and we muſt preſume to inform your Highneſs, that your compliment upon the birth of the child (which not one in a thouſand here believes to be the Queen's) hath done you ſome injury; the falſe impoſing

of

of that upon the Princeſs and the nation, being not only an infinite exaſperation of people's minds here, but being certainly one of the chief cauſes upon which the declaration of your entering the kingdom in a hoſtile manner, muſt be founded on your part, although many other reaſons are to be given on ours. If, upon a due conſideration of all theſe circumſtances, your Highneſs ſhall think fit to adventure upon the attempt, or at leaſt to make ſuch preparations for it as are neceſſary (which we wiſh you may), there muſt be no more time loſt, in letting us know your reſolution concerning it, and in what time we may depend that all the preparations will be ready, as alſo whether your Highneſs does believe the preparations can be ſo managed as not to give them warning here, both to make them increaſe their force, and to ſecure thoſe they ſhall ſuſpect would join with you. We need not ſay any thing about ammunition, artillery, mortar pieces, ſpare arms, &c. becauſe if you think fit to put any thing in execution, you will provide enough of theſe kinds, and will take care to bring ſome good engineers with you; and we have deſired Mr. H. to conſult you about all ſuch matters, to whom we have communicated our thoughts in many particulars too tedious to have been written, and about which no certain reſolutions can be taken, till we have heard again from your Highneſs.

25. 24. 27. 29. 31. 35. 33.
Sh. Dev. Danby. Lumley. London. Ruſſel. Sydney.

Mr. Sidney to the Prince of Orange.—Expreſſes fears of the deſign.—Adviſes him to borrow Schomberg.—Nottingham's heart has failed him.

June 30, 1688.

"THE bearer hereof carrying with him a letter from the moſt prudent and moſt knowing perſons that we have in this nation, and he himſelf being well inſtructed in the condition of our affairs, it is a preſumption in me to think of adding any thing elſe; but you having ever given me leave to ſpeak freely to you, I have ever told you every thought of my heart. I am too much concerned for your intereſt, your life, and your reputation, to ſay a word of perſuaſion to you to undertake this matter; you know your own buſineſs beſt, what power you have over the fleet and the army, and whether you can tranſport men with privacy; for it is moſt certain, that if it be made public above a fortnight before it be put in execution, all your particular friends will be clapped up, which will terrify others, or at leaſt make them not know what to do, and will, in all probability, ruin the whole deſign. If you go on with this undertaking, I think I ſhall not do amiſs, to put you in mind of one man that, I believe, will be very uſeful to you; it is the Mareſchal Schomberg, who (by what you told me of him, and by what he writ to me) I do not doubt but he will be ready to ſerve you; he hath the reputation all the world over of being knowing in his profeſſion, and beſides he is extremely beloved in this country, ſo that if you could borrow him for a while, it would be of great advantage to this affair. I give you many thanks for yours by Monſ. Zuleſtein, and the particular favour in it; I am indeed of opinion, that if you think fit to go on with this buſineſs, that after three

weeks

weeks I ſhall be more ſerviceable to you near your perſon, than I can be here; and if you are of that mind, I deſire you will command me to come to you, or elſe it may be ſome of my aſſociates will not like my going, though one of them hath already told me it is abſolutely neceſſary. When I know your pleaſure, I will endeavour to be with you in a few days, with leave or without. Your friends have deſired Monſ. Zuleſtein to ſtay here till you ſend an anſwer to the letter, and to avoid giving ſuſpicion, he is adviſed to go into the country for ſome days. This letter being writ in my own known hand, I hope you will burn it as ſoon as you have read it, and the other being ſo too, I deſire you will have it copied, or elſe I may ſuffer for it ſeven years hence. You will wonder, I believe, not to ſee the number $\frac{23}{\text{Not.}}$ among the other figures; he was gone very far, but now his heart fails him, and he will go no further; he ſaith 'tis ſcruples of conſcience, but we all conclude 'tis another paſſion; every body elſe is as well as one can wiſh, and I pray God they may live to do you the ſervice ſo much deſired by all honeſt men."

The two following letters from Lord Latimer and Lord Pembroke, though without dates, were probably written about this time.

Lord Latimer to the Prince of Orange, in anſwer to the Prince's.—Aſſures him of his ſervices.

"I DO with all humility imaginable acknowledge the great honour of your Highneſs's letter, and do with no leſs joy receive from your Highneſs's own hand the aſſurance of being in your Highneſs's good opinion. If any occaſion could make me ſo happy as to give your Highneſs a teſtimony ſuitable to my deſires, I am ſure my

my actions would afford no cauſe to leſſen your Highneſs's favour towards me, and, I hope (beſide the nearneſs of relation in blood betwixt my maſter and your Highneſs), the warmneſs of intereſt will be ſo great a conſideration on both ſides, as may give opportunity to ſuch as intend my maſter's good, to make one of the beſt ſteps towards it by promoting your Highneſs's; and for what ſervices I may be capable in my own particular, I beg your Highneſs to believe that nobody ſhall exceed me, as, in truth, none can now, in the high eſteem which all the world muſt acknowledge to be due to your great merit. I dare trouble your Highneſs no longer, than to declare the great ambition I have to receive any commands from your Highneſs, and to aſſure your Highneſs they ſhall be moſt readily obeyed with all duty and reſpect, as becomes, may it pleaſe your Highneſs, your Highneſs's moſt obedient, and moſt humble ſervant."

Lord Pembroke to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

"YOUR Highneſs will not wonder why I give you the trouble of a letter now, but rather if I ſhould not, conſidering the opportunity that offers itſelf by one to whom I have been very much obliged, and by one from whom I had the ſatisfaction of being aſſured of your Highneſs's favourable opinion of me. Though your Highneſs (for many reaſons) can never want ſo inconſiderable a ſervice as mine, yet you will be pleaſed to give me leave (till I can teſtify my ſervice ſome other way) to ſubſcribe myſelf, your Highneſs's moſt humble ſervant."

Part of a letter from Lord Clarendon to the Prince of Orange, in anſwer to a letter from the Princeſs.—A letter of compliment.

July 7, 1688.

"HAVING lately had a letter from the Princeſs with the gracious aſſurance in it, that your Highneſs is pleaſed to approve of my conduct in our late affairs, it is ſo great a conſolation to me, that I hope you will not be offended at this my preſumption, in returning your Highneſs my moſt humble acknowledgments, and I beſeech you to believe, that I am incapable of doing any thing to diſpleaſe you; no man is free from ill offices being done him, but I am ſure your Highneſs is too juſt to ſuffer them to make impreſſion in you to any man's prejudice, without enquiring into the truth, and when you do that, you will find all miſrepreſentations of me, to have more of malice in them, than of ſervice to your Highneſs, ſo that I take myſelf to be very ſecure in your favourable opinion, which I will ſtudy always to preſerve; and that my brother ſhould not be ſo, is an unſpeakable mortification to me; but I will not preſume to give your Highneſs any trouble concerning him."

Lord Rocheſter to the Prince of Orange.—Makes apologies for his paſt conduct.

"I MOST humbly beg your Highneſs's pardon for preſuming to write to you, after I know how much I am in your diſpleaſure; but your Highneſs being uſed to receive petitions from thoſe that offend you, may be pleaſed to look upon this letter in the nature of a very humble one to your Highneſs, to beſeech you that what ground ſoever you have had for your anger, you will have

have the goodneſs to think it hath laſted long enough againſt a man in my circumſtances, which as on one hand they are too low to be long taken notice of by ſo great a Prince, ſo on the other, they are ſuch as do now, and will ever make me have as great a duty to your perſon as any man living can have. I hope your Highneſs can forgive any faults that are not malicious, and if you will be pleaſed to reflect what intereſt I can have contrary to your Highneſs's, I am ſure you will conclude, whatever my offences are, they muſt be the effect of folly and indiſcretion, rather than of wilfullneſs to diſpleaſe you: I ſay whatever they are, becauſe I find it is for diverſe reaſons that your Highneſs is unſatisfied with me. I call God to witneſs, that except my not paying my duty to your Highneſs when I was laſt out of England, I cannot accuſe myſelf of any thing diſreſpectful or undutiful towards you; and whatever I may have to ſay for myſelf for that very great fault, I do moſt humbly aſk your pardon for it, and will do ſo for the others too, if your Highneſs ſhall condemn me whenever you have heard me. And I do moſt humbly beſeech you, that ſince I would every day of my life do any thing to ſerve you, I may not have the mortification to ſee how little you value it. I have written to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs upon this ſubject; and though I have had occaſion to write on one account more particularly to her, than it is poſſible for me to offer to your Highneſs, yet I humbly deſire you to believe I look upon your intereſts as one; and your Highneſs may be confident I will be honeſt, juſt, and dutiful to you both. I ſubmit myſelf to your diſpleaſure, and whatever you determine, I will always continue with the humbleſt duty," &c.

New-park, July 10, 1688.

The Prince of Orange gave orders that Lord Halifax ſhould not be truſted with the ſecret of the intended ex-

pedition. It is not likely that the ſpirit of diſſertation in the following letter from Lord Halifax, was, more than in his former letters, very pleaſing to a perſon who always loved deeds more than words.

Letter from Lord Halifax to the Prince of Orange.—Slow counſels.

July 25, 1688.

"SO many things have happened of late, that it is reaſonable enough to conclude, upon the firſt apprehenſion of them, that they ſhould produce great alterations in reference to the public; and yet with all this, upon a ſtrict obſervation of all circumſtances, I ſee nothing to raiſe more hopes on one ſide, or to incline the other to deſpair. I find that every new attempt bringeth a freſh diſadvantage upon the great deſign, which is expoſed and diſappointed by ſo many repeated miſtakes; the world is ſo much confirmed, that there is every day leſs danger of being overrun; the ſeveral parties, though differing never ſo much in other things, ſeem to agree in their reſolution of preſerving, by all legal means, the ſecurities of their religion and their laws. The buſineſs concerning the biſhops hath had ſuch an effect, that it is hardly to be imagined; the conſequences are not ſeen to their full extent by the men in power, though they are not a little mortified by the ill ſucceſs of it: I look upon it as that which hath brought all the Proteſtants together, and bound them up into a knot, that cannot eaſily be untied. It is one of thoſe kind of faults that can never be repaired: All that can be done to mend it will probably make it worſe, as is ſeen already by every ſtep that hath been ſince made to recover the reputation they have loſt by it. It is given out, that there will be yet ſome further proceedings againſt

againſt the biſhops; but in that I am an unbeliever, as well as concerning the meeting of parliament; my opinion being ſtill the ſame as I gave your Highneſs in my laſt, the continuance of the diſcourſe of it, and even by thoſe who are preſumed to know beſt, doth not at all make me alter my judgment. A parliament can never be an indifferent thing, and therefore it is a very weak argument to ſay that it will be tried, and if it doth not comply, it ſhall be diſſolved. Things of this kind are not to be ſo handled; the conſequences may be too great to make the experiment, without better grounds to expect ſucceſs than at preſent appear. In ſhort, I ſtill remain perſuaded that there is no effectual progreſs made towards the great deſign; and even the thing that party relieth upon, is ſubject to ſo many accidents and uncertainties, that according to human probability we are ſecure, notwithſtanding the ill appearances which fright moſt, when they are leaſt examined. I wiſh your Highneſs all happineſs, and to myſelf the continuance of your good opinion, which cannot be more valued by any man living, than it is by your moſt devoted ſervant."

Lord Nottingham to the Prince of Orange.—Inſinuates for a delay.—Sorry if he differs from others.

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"THE honour of being in your Highneſs's good opinion, and the continuance of your favour, of which you were pleaſed to aſſure me in your letter by Mr. Zuliſten, would make me undertake any taſk to render me worthy of it, if I could hope to perform it to your ſatisfaction; but to give your Highneſs a juſt account of affairs here not as news, but to judge rightly of them, is ſo very difficult that I muſt not pretend to it; nevertheleſs, in obedience to your commands,

mands, I have acquainted Mr. Zuliſten with my apprehenſions of ſome of the lateſt occurrences here, that he may humbly repreſent them to your Highneſs.

The birth of a Prince of Wales, and the deſigns of a further proſecution of the biſhops, and of new modelling the army and calling of a parliament, are matters that afford various reflections. But I cannot apprehend from them ſuch ill conſequences to our religion, or the juſt intereſts of your Highneſs, that a little time will not effectually remedy, nor can I imagine that the Papiſts are able to make any further conſiderable progreſs; and the reaſons of this opinion, I have diſcourſed with Mr. Zuliſten, that I might not trouble your Highneſs with too long a letter; but if they ſhould not be ſatisfactory to your Highneſs, or ſhould differ from the ſentiments of others, I beſeech you not to miſconſtruct my opinion as proceeding from any want of zeal to the ſervice of your Highneſs, upon whom depends not only the welfare of this nation, but the fate of Europe too; for I ſhall always diſcharge my duty to you with the utmoſt fidelity, and have no greater ambition than to be your Highneſs's," &c.

London, July 27, 1688.

The following cant letter to the Prince, appears to me to be Ruſſel's hand.

Admiral Ruſſel to the Prince of Orange.

SIR,

"THE honour, your Highneſs was pleaſed to do me by Monſieur Zuliſten, I can never enough acknowledge. I muſt beg your Highneſs to believe me a man ſo ſenſible of the favours you have been pleaſed to do me, that my life and fortune is abſolutely at your diſpoſal.

diſpoſal. It ſhall be my whole buſineſs and ſtudy, to render you all the ſervice I am capable of; and if my ſucceſs be not anſwerable to my intentions, be pleaſed to believe it proceeds from ill fortune, and not want of inclination. I hope your Highneſs finds your new viſitor [probably Admiral Herbert] anſwers the character you have had of him; the King is moſt extremely angry with him, and I have ſome reaſon to believe he diſappointed the court, they having ſome thoughts of making offers for him to take employments. Since I came into England, Mr. Roberts is grown ſo warm, that I can hardly prevail with him to ſtay for his being turned out. He is now reſolved not to talk of the Teſt, and Penal laws, nor indeed any thing they would have him do; I believe, he is at this time ſo ill at court, that his reign there will hardly laſt a month; he has deſired me to aſſure your Highneſs of his utmoſt ſervice. When Monſieur Dickfield went away, he writ to you, but you were pleaſed never to take any notice of it; if you think convenient, a letter to him of your good opinion, relating to himſelf, would not be amiſs; but I ſubmit to your better judgment. You will hear by the bearer, all the news we have. When your Highneſs thinks the time proper for Mr. Roberts' miſtreſs to know your thoughts, be pleaſed to let him tell it her, it will be better, in my humble opinion, than by letter. The number of your friends here daily increaſe; but ſome perſons on your ſide the water, take ſuch liberty in writing news, and naming people, that, I fear, it may give the court occaſion to be angry with them, much to their prejudice, and not much to your ſervice. I will not trouble you longer on this ſubject, only beg you will pleaſe to believe me your Highneſs's moſt faithful, humble ſervant."

London, July 28, 1688.

Biſhop of London to the Prince of Orange.—In anſwer to a letter from the Prince concerning the ſeven Biſhops.

SIR, July 28, 1688.

"THE honour your Highneſs did me in laying the charge upon me, to communicate to my Lords the Biſhops, how much you were concerned in their behalf, had its juſt effect upon them, for they are highly ſenſible of the great advantage both they and the church have, by the firmneſs of ſo powerful a friend; and as I dare undertake, they ſhall never make an ill uſe of it, ſo I am very ſure they will entirely rely upon it on all juſt occaſions. I dare likewiſe take upon me to aſſure you, that both they that ſuffered, and the reſt who concurred with them, are ſo well ſatisfied of the juſtneſs of their cauſe, that they will lay down their lives, before they will in the leaſt depart from it.

I ſhould ſay ſomething of myſelf, but I had ſo lately an opportunity of making my mind known to you, that it can be to no purpoſe to ſay more now to you, than that I am under all the obligation in the world of approving myſelf, Sir, your Highneſs's moſt devoted and faithful ſervant."

Lord Shrewſbury to the Prince of Orange.—Upon the departure of Zuliſtein.—The Prince's friends increaſe.

London, July 28, 1688.

"MOnſieur Zuliſtein, Sir, will go away ſo well inſtructed in all particulars relating to our affairs, that it would be but impertinence to add any thing to what he has learned from better hands: I hope he will repreſent them in ſuch a poſture as will not diſpleaſe your Highneſs. The papers you mention are preparing with

all expedition. If the violence of my wiſhes do not deceive me, I flatter myſelf you never had more friends in England than now: May they increaſe till they are as numerous and as faithful as he wiſhes, that is, with all ſincerity and reſpect, Sir," &c.

Lord Churchill to the Prince of Orange.—A ſpirited letter.

SIR, Auguſt 4, 1688.

"MR. Sidney will let you know how I intend to behave myſelf: I think it is what I owe to God and my country. My honour I take leave to put into your Royal Highneſs's hands, in which I think it ſafe. If you think there is any thing elſe that I ought to do, you have but to command me, and I ſhall pay an entire obedience to it, being reſolved to die in that religion that it has pleaſed God to give you both the will and power to protect. I am, with all reſpect, Sir," &c.

N° V.

Intrigues of the Prince of Orange with the Pope, the Emperor, and the Elector of Brandenburg, previous to his expedition.

While theſe intrigues were carrying on in England, the Prince, who was not daunted either with the variations in Lord Mordaunt's opinions, or the anxious, though friendly fears of Sidney, or the learned indolence of Halifax, or the ſudden failure in the nerves of Lord Nottingham, kept on ſtraight forward and ſteady in his courſe.

The following letters will ſhew the arts by which the Prince of Orange impoſed upon the Pope to advance money for an attack, as he thought, upon France, but

which was afterwards turned againſt England. Copies of the letters were given me by Mr. Lumeſden, a gentleman formerly in the ſervice of the Stuart family at Rome, the misfortunes of whoſe youth have loſt one of the moſt ingenious of his countrymen to Britain. He told me the originals were in the *Depot des Affaires Etrangeres* at Paris. I am aſhamed to own I forgot to aſk for them when I was there.

Tranſlation.

Extract of two letters written by Cardinal d'Eſtrées, ambaſſador extraordinary from Louis the XIVth, to the court of Rome, concerning the league of Augſbourg.—Intrigues of the Emperour, Pope, and Prince of Orange, previous to the revolution.

To Mr. de Louvois.

December 18, 1687.

"THE 12th of December, 1687, *le Petit** gave a note, at the gate of St. Peter, to Gut †, by which he adviſed me, that the perſon who went every day diſguiſed to Count Caſſoni in the manner I wrote your Majeſty the 13th of November paſt, was a Dutchman, but he did not know his name. There is no doubt of his being the Burgomaſter Ouir. I informed *le Gut* of it. You will inform his Majeſty that as ſoon as *le Gut* was certain that *Ouir* was the perſon who conferred with Caſſoni, he took the reſolution, without communicating it to me, to place himſelf with his two valets ‡ at ten paces from Antonio Ferri's door, where

* Clerk to M. Caſſoni, ſecretary to Pope Innocent the eleventh.

† He was a gentleman of the bed-chamber to Louis the XIVth, and acted as a ſpy at the court of Rome.

‡ One of theſe ſervants of le Gut was called le Gaſcon, the other le Breton.

this

this Burgomaſter lodged, to ſee Ouir come out. About midnight he ſaw him all at once in the ſtreet, ſhutting Ferri's door, diſguiſed as a porter, which they call here *fachino*. He followed him till he entered the Vatican, to go to Caſſoni's apartment. *Le Gut* with his two valets placed themſelves as centinels till they ſaw Ouir come out of the Vatican. About three in the morning, le Gut with le Gaſcon and le Breton followed him at a diſtance, and as ſoon as they ſaw him enter into la Longara, le Breton who was foremoſt leaped upon him. Le Gut and le Gaſcon came up immediately. Le Gut preſented a dagger to his throat, and told him, that if he made the leaſt motion he was a dead man, for he would ſtab him. Whilſt le Gut regaled him with this compliment, the two valets ſearched him from head to foot in a little time, and took all the letters and papers he had about him. As ſoon as le Gut had the writings in his poſſeſſion, he releaſed Ouir. He came to me, opened the door of my palace with his key, went up the back ſtairs, and gave notice to my maitre d'hotel by one of my valets: They waked me; I got up and put on my night-gown. I went into my cloſet, where I found Gut very well pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his attempt, which I have juſt told you of. I ordered him ſome victuals, for he was almoſt famiſhed. He declared to me that he had not eat for 18 hours. As ſoon as he had ſupped, he gave me the letters he had intercepted upon Ouir. We opened the pacquet, and ſaw that Caſſoni's letters were directed to the Emperor and the Duke of Lorrain.

The ſecretary to the Pope informed the Duke of Lorrain, that his Holineſs had received a particular joy upon learning that his Imperial Majeſty had brought almoſt all the Princes of Europe to league themſelves againſt the King of France: He remarked to him, that what

gave the holy Father a good deal of pain was, to hear that the Engliſh were reſolved to dethrone their King, if he would not take a firm reſolution to make war againſt France, aboliſh the catholic religion entirely, and join himſelf to the league of Augſbourg.

However, Caſſoni ſaid, that one of the firſt things his Holineſs wiſhes the Emperor to do, after the war is declared, is to lay ſiege to all the places which France has taken from the Elector of Cologn, with a deſign to give the poſſeſſion of them to Cardinal Furſtemberg in the quality of Elector, though his Holineſs would never own nor acknowledge him as ſuch, nor yet confirm the poſtulation; and that the holy Pontiff was very glad that the Prince of Orange was to go into Germany to ſuſtain at the head of two armies the intereſts of the Emperor and his Holineſs againſt Cardinal Furſtemberg and France at the ſame time. To effect this, Count Caſſoni promiſes on the Pope's part to ſend the Emperor large ſums of money, without ſpecifying the quantity, to be given to the Prince of Orange, to the end that they may both continue the war more eaſily againſt the moſt Chriſtian King.

Upon reading over and over this fine project both in Caſſoni's letters, and the papers taken from Ouir, we there ſaw the inſtructions which the Emperor, the Duke of Lorrain, and the Prince of Orange had given to the worthy Burgomaſter, the whole of which turned upon what I have juſt wrote you, and you will ſee in Count Caſſoni's letters. I repeat it, we were extremely ſurpriſed to ſee that his Holineſs had juſt concluded a treaty with the Emperor againſt the eldeſt ſon of the church, who only ſought to maintain his own intereſts; and that his Holineſs had approved of a league made by the greater part of the Princes of Europe againſt the King of France. After having conſidered a little, I took a reſolution

lution to make known the ſubſtance of theſe matters to le Petit, with orders to uſe his utmoſt endeavours to diſcover what paſſed in the cabinet of Mr. Caſſoni. He informed me on the 14th, that with a great deal of trouble he had found amongſt the papers of this ſecretary to the Pope, in a ſecret corner of his ſmall cabinet, where he kept the papers which he had not yet uſed, that the Engliſh had agreed with the Prince of Orange to dethrone King James the Second, and place the Princeſs of Orange his daughter upon the throne, and conſequently her huſband William; that the Engliſh were alſo reſolved to take away the life of their King and of the Prince of Wales, if the Queen was brought to-bed of a ſon; and that the Prince of Orange was not to go into Germany to command the Emperor's troops; that it was only a mere pretence to amuſe the Pope and the public, in order that they might have no ſuſpicion of this Prince's wanting to raiſe himſelf to the throne of England; and that for certain the holy Father knew nothing of this fatal intrigue againſt King James the Second, for he had been only made to believe that the Prince of Orange was to go to Germany. Le Petit makes no doubt that the matter ſtands ſo, ſince the memorials that he found are not ranged with thoſe which the Pope had ſeen and approved; and that of all this affair nothing appeared upon the ſecretary's table to refer to them according to their endorſements, which is neceſſary for the Pope's ſecretary, that he may directly find thoſe articles which he has treated and finiſhed with his Holineſs as ſoon as he wants them: That at preſent he is writing and working on what the holy Pontiff has juſt promiſed to the Emperor, the Duke of Lorrain, and the Prince of Orange, who was to go into Germany to command his Imperial Majeſty's troops; but that this command was only a fable.

As

As ſoon as I learnt the horrible attempt that was intended againſt King James and the royal family, I informed the young Lord Northfolk of it, who was here incognito, as you know, to endeavour to diſcover the intrigues of the Vatican, which it was to be feared were forming againſt his maſter: My lord immediately diſpatched two couriers to his Britannic Majeſty, one by land, the other by ſea, to inform him of all I have told you.

You know that Holland, the Electors, and Spain have declared againſt us. I fear alſo that the Duke of Savoy will alſo make war upon us. I have ſome foreſight of it, from certain diſcourſes which I don't yet write you, becauſe I am not yet ſufficiently informed: He ſhould be watched very narrowly.

Our confidential cardinals are informed of the part they are to play. Le Petit is an able man, and le Gut is ſo in the ſuperlative degree. Theſe two perſons are the cauſe of all this diſcovery; for what we knew before was extremely uncertain. Le Gut, who ſupped with me yeſterday, has deſired me to write to you to beg you will take the trouble to let his Majeſty know that he will not quit Ouir, till he diſcovers and knows all the places in Rome he frequents. Le Breton gave me, on the part of his maſter le Gut, a note by which he informs me that Ouir had opened a ſhop in the Place Navone, where he ſold all ſorts of artificial flowers and fruits, and little wax images; and that he had a Venetian boy who worked wonderfully well at this ſort of buſineſs."

Cardinal d' Etrées to Louis the XIVth.

June 29, 1688.

"THEY are in much pain in the Vatican to know how your Majeſty could ſo ſoon be acquainted with the project and all the articles of the league of Augſ-

bourg. The Spaniſh ambaſſador has been ſick upon it, and is yet much diſordered. He tries every means to diſcover thoſe who have given your Majeſty the information.

By the laſt letter I wrote to Monſieur Louvois, I informed him of the action which your Majeſty's le Gut did to the captain of the town-guard, and all his troop of Sbiri, to the number of 50. As ſoon as he heard them approach the place where he had placed himſelf to ſee who went to Cardinal who is Caſſoni's adviſer, he began by calling his two valets, le Breton and le Gaſçon, and made them cry out,—"Long live the King of France."—After that he made them ſay,—"Stop at the gate of the court.—Long live Great Louis—may all his enemies periſh."—Theſe three men obliged the captain and his 50 Sbiri to fly in the greateſt haſte, and take ſhelter with the Pope's guard, who put themſelves under arms as faſt as they could; and your Gut had the pleaſure to remain in a place from whence he could ſee this raſcally company, who did not leave the poſt they had taken, till day-light.

The 24th inſtant, le Petit being gone to Notre Dame des Neiges, and le Gut being upon duty, he gave him a letter by which he adviſed him that Ouir was to be with Caſſoni to take his letters, which would be found in the fruits which he pretended to go to ſell him, and left him to take his meaſures.

Next day, the 25th, your le Gut, Sire, without communicating to me his deſign, did not fail to go and place himſelf as a centinel near to Ouir's houſe, in ſuch a manner that he could not be diſcovered. He ſaw the burgomaſter go out with his baſket hanging about his neck. He followed him till he went into Mr. Caſſoni's: At this moment he heard the clock ſtrike eleven. Ouir came out an hour and an half after midnight. Le Gut dreſſed himſelf this night as a porter, with his two ſervants: Theſe three perſonages followed the burgomaſter. As ſoon as he

he was about a thouſand paces from the Vatican, they ſaw he took his way along a ſmall ſtreet; as ſoon as he was entered they mended their pace, overtook him and ſeized him, preſenting a dagger to his throat. As ſoon as Ouir was at their diſcretion, le Gut rummaged him, but found nothing on him; this obliged him to take away his baſket full of artificial fruits: He gave it to le Breton, who brought it to me. I waited, Sire, with impatience for your le Gut, becauſe he had ſent me word he would come and ſup with me, but that it would be late. I then thought that he was about ſome enterprize for your ſervice, which I could not divine. His valet entering my room, gave me the baſket that le Gut had taken from Ouir. It was no ſooner opened than in my life I never ſaw any thing better executed. I admired the fruits a little while, and then ranged them upon my table. As ſoon as I had finiſhed, I heard your le Gut, who opened the back door of my cloſet, which obliged me to go into it; and he informed me, that after having taken the baſket from Ouir, he conducted him to about ten paces from his door, and on that ſpot told him, that he had followed him ever ſince he had been at Rome, and that it was Signora Hortenſia who was the cauſe of his letters and papers being taken from him ſome time ago, and it was ſhe alſo who had occaſioned the loſs of his baſket; and if during the courſe of next day he did not quit Rome, ſhe would cauſe him to be thrown into the Tiber.

After le Gut had acquainted me with his adventure, and that he had always ſpoken low Dutch to the burgomaſter, he aſked for ſupper, which being finiſhed, he aſked me what I would do with Ouir's merchandize. I told him I thought it ſo fine that I deſigned it for your Majeſty. Le Gut replied that he would open the whole, and in the mean time made my maitre d'hotel, who waited on us, bring them. He broke all the fruits in my preſence,

ſence, which he had no ſooner done, than I owned he had reaſon. We found all round theſe fruits braſs wires under green ſilk that covered them, and which were ſtuck into the lemons, figs, and grapes, with little flags of paper writ in cypher. Le Gut took and ranged them according to their number, and decyphered them, and there we found the ſchemes and good intentions of the Duke of Savoy for the ruin of your dominions.

The deſign of his Highneſs is not openly to take part with your enemies, as you will ſee: And I think if your Majeſty deals properly with this Prince, you may oblige him to turn to the ſide of France, or remain neuter. The ſeries of Caſſoni's letters ſhows the forces which the Emperor, England, and Holland are to employ againſt you, Sire; and the aſſiſtance the Emperor and the King of Spain are to give to the Duke of Savoy when it ſhall be neceſſary. The number of Barbotes and new converts, according to their computation, will amount to more than one hundred thouſand men, which is the number of thoſe who are gone out of your dominions; and all the others in general who remain in the kingdom, are to take arms againſt your Majeſty as ſoon as the trumpet of your enemies ſounds. Your Majeſty may know by this how much the Pope's miniſter amuſes him with chimeras, ſince at this hour that I have the honour to write to you, his Holineſs believes France ruined, by means of all the fables which Count Caſſoni has entertained him with.

Your Majeſty will receive then in this pacquet all the flags which were in Ouir's fruits, with a letter from le Gut, to ſhew you, Sire, in what manner to range them. You will alſo ſee the care with which Ouir and Caſſoni have adjuſted them, to give your enemies the means of reading them without trouble. After le Gut had finiſhed his letter, he begged me to aſſure your Majeſty, that if you will keep two of your gallies at Civita Vecchia, he

obliges himſelf, under penalty of loſing his head, to carry off Caſſoni from the midſt of Rome, or from his chamber, provided your Majeſty deſires it, and will let him have twenty gentlemen and as many guardes marines; and promiſes he will get Caſſoni put aboard one of the gallies, and conduct him to Marſeilles or Toulon, or any other place you pleaſe, before any one in Rome knows what is become of this ſecretary. He farther ſaid to me, that if he dared, he would make the offer, Sire, which Mr. de Lyonne formerly made, of going to Rome to ſtab Don Mario, brother to Pope Alexander the ſeventh, after the attempt that the Corſicans made upon the perſon of Madam the Ambaſſadreſs de Crequi in her coach; but knowing how much her Majeſty abhors bloodſhed, he contents himſelf with offering, at the peril of his life, to bring the Count Caſſoni to what place you pleaſe bound and gagged, to make him pay, by his confinement, for the folly of the bad councils he has given. Ouir has not appeared in Rome ſince the 26th; the pretended ſhop is ſhut; ſo that he is either in hiding, or gone."

The credit given in the firſt of theſe letters to a wild ſtory of a concert in England to murder the King and his ſon, if he ſhould have one, is a ſtrong inſtance of the miſtakes of foreigners, with regard to the character of a people, who, becauſe they are more high-ſpirited, are therefore more honourable in their reſentments than the reſt of mankind: Yet perhaps theſe letters may account for the ridiculous fear which James was under at the revolution, for his own life and that of his ſon. The letters are probably right with regard to the intentions of the Prince of Orange to mount the throne of England. In King William's box there is a letter to him from the Elector

Elector of Brandenburg, from which there is reaſon to conjecture, that at his interview with the Elector at Minden, a few months before he ſailed for England, ſuch an object had not been altogether out of ſight.

Tranſlation.

The Elector of Brandenburg to King William.—Mentions the wiſhes he had formed at the interview at Minden for his elevation to the throne.

My Lord, my moſt honoured couſin and brother,

"I Cannot expreſs the greatneſs of the joy cauſed in me, by the completion of the wiſhes which ſome years ago I had formed, and particularly ſix months ago at Minden, for your elevation to the throne of England, which is due to you equally by blood, and by the advantage which England, and all the proteſtants together, even all Europe, receives by your means. I felicitate your Majeſty with all my ſoul, and wiſh that the great God, who has miraculouſly put you on this throne, may preſerve long years to you, and add to them the good fortune of an happy iſſue. In the mean time I promiſe myſelf on my ſide from your Majeſty, the ſame ſentiments of goodneſs and tenderneſs which you have always had for me, who ſhall be for ever, my dear and moſt honoured couſin and brother, Your Highneſs's moſt humble,

Berlin, And moſt devoted ſervant,

27th Feb. 1689. FREDRICK, ELECTOR."

But if the Prince of Orange, in coming to England, had really the intention of mounting the throne, he deceived the Emperor as well as the Pope. In his cabinet there is a copy of the following letter from him to the Emperor a ſhort time before he ſailed:

Tranſlation.

The Prince of Orange to the Emperor.—Aſſures him, that in his expedition to England, he has no intention to dethrone King James, or to injure the Roman Catholics.

SIR,

"I COULD not fail to give information to your Imperial Majeſty, that the miſunderſtandings which have ſubſiſted for ſome time between the King of Great Britain and his ſubjects are come to ſo great extremities, that being upon the point of breaking out into a formal rupture, they have obliged me to paſs the ſea, on account of the lively and reiterated inſtances which have been made to me by many Peers and other conſiderable perſons of the kingdom, as well eccleſiaſtical as ſecular. I think it neceſſary to carry ſome troops of infantry and cavalry there, that I may not be expoſed to the inſults of thoſe, who, by their bad counſels, and by the violences which followed them, have given occaſion to theſe extreme miſunderſtandings. I aſſure your Imperial Majeſty by this letter, that whatever reports may have been ſpread, and notwithſtanding thoſe which may be ſpread for the future, I have not the leaſt intention to do any hurt to his Britannic Majeſty, or to thoſe who have a right to pretend to the ſucceſſion of his kingdoms, and ſtill leſs to make an attempt upon the crown, or to deſire to appropriate it to myſelf.

Neither have I any deſire to extirpate the Roman Catholics, but only to employ my cares to endeavour to redreſs the diſorders and irregularities which have been committed againſt the laws of thoſe kingdoms by the bad counſels of the ill intentioned.

I will alſo endeavour in a parliament lawfully aſſembled, and compoſed of perſons duly qualified according to the laws

laws of the nation, to procure the regulation of affairs in ſuch a manner, that the proteſtant religion, with the liberties and rights of the clergy, nobility, and people, may be put in entire ſecurity. By this means alone there is place to hope, that there will follow a good union and ſincere confidence between the King and his ſubjects, that they may be in a condition of being able to contribute powerfully to the common good. I muſt add, that in the deſign which I have of endeavouring to prevent the continuation of theſe miſunderſtandings, and to ſtrengthen ſo good an union upon ſolid foundations, I ought to intreat your Imperial Majeſty to be aſſured, that I will employ all my credit to provide, that the Roman Catholics of that country may enjoy liberty of conſcience, and be put out of fear of being perſecuted on account of their religion; and provided they exerciſe their religion without noiſe, and with modeſty, that they ſhall not be ſubject to any puniſhment.

I have at all times had a great averſion to all ſort of perſecution upon religious matters among Chriſtians.

I pray God, who is powerful over all, to bleſs this my ſincere intention, and I dare promiſe that it will not diſpleaſe your Majeſty.

I pray God alſo, that he may cover you with his beſt bleſſing. I am with all ſort of reſpect."

N° VI.

Letters from Barillon to his court, which ſhew that King James intended to break the act of ſettlement in Ireland, and had three Popiſh regiments in England in the pay of France.—And intrigues of Lord Sunderland.—And King James's laſt letters to the Prince of Orange.

There are facts in Barillon's diſpatches ſufficient to ſhow that the revolution was a meaſure of the moſt abſolute

lute neceſſity. An Engliſh reader may not be ſurpriſed to hear, that King James had reſolved to make void the act of ſettlement in Ireland, in order to have it in his power to make uſe of Iriſh Catholics for the eſtabliſhment of his authority in England. But he will be aſtoniſhed to learn a fact hitherto unknown and unſuſpected, that towards the end of the reign of King James, there were in England three Popiſh regiments regularly paid by France.

Lord Tyrconnel was the perſon who firſt ſuggeſted this project, and connected it with another equally pleaſing to the King, to wit, that the Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice ſhould be recalled from that ſervice. The ſecrets of theſe things are to be found in the following diſpatches:

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—King James is to propoſe that Louis ſhould take into his pay a regiment formed of the Britiſh troops, to be recalled from Holland.—The views of this.—In the Depot.

October 13, 1687.

"LORD Sunderland acquainted me that his maſter was to ſpeak to me about an affair of conſequence, and that he would explain it to me, to the end I might be prepared when his Britannic Majeſty ſhould communicate it to me.

The fact is, that the King of England is reſolved to withdraw his troops which are in the ſervice of the States General: He expects indeed that a great number of the officers and ſoldiers will remain in Holland, but alſo a good part may return here, and principally the Catholics, and all thoſe who are not entirely gained by the Prince of Orange. However deſirous his Britannic Majeſty may be

be to recall theſe troops, it is difficult for him to do it without having eaſy means of ſubſiſting thoſe who ſhall be recalled, and keeping them together in one body. The expedient of augmenting the troops which are on foot here would be the moſt natural, but there is already as great a number as the King of England can maintain. His thought therefore is, to propoſe to your Majeſty the taking into your ſervice a regiment of infantry, compoſed of the officers and ſoldiers to be recalled from Holland; this regiment will be entirely at your Majeſty's own diſpoſal, it being underſtood nevertheleſs, that when the King of England ſhall have occaſion for them in his own country, your Majeſty will not refuſe to ſend them back.

The reaſons which oblige this Prince to make this propoſal are, that by this means there would be a new corps on foot, which would be better kept up and better diſciplined than thoſe which are in this country; that it will be a nurſery to educate and form Catholic ſoldiers, who will not be informed of the dangerous maxims to monarchy, which are ſpread throughout all England, and from which even the Catholics are not entirely exempt; that without this, it will be difficult for him to recall ſo ſoon the troops which are in Holland, he not being able to ſubſiſt them eaſily together, although he knows of how much conſequence it is to him not to permit to exiſt any longer a corps of troops of his own ſubjects, the greateſt number of whom are not in his intereſts, and would ſerve againſt him if the occaſion offered.

Lord Sunderland having explained this, ſaid, he judged this affair was not eaſily to be obtained of your Majeſty; that in time of peace your Majeſty would not eaſily think of taking into your ſervice a body of foreign troops, the expence of which would exceed that of a like number of your own ſubjects; that it was well known what had happened ſome years

ago with regard to the Engliſh troops which were in France; and that your Majeſty had perhaps formed for ever a diſlike at taking them into your ſervice, and making an extraordinary expence, for which there appeared no ſtrong reaſons to engage you at preſent; that however, conſidering the ſtate of affairs in England in particular, and of Europe in general, your Majeſty will perhaps judge that the propoſal which is made to you, ought to be admitted; firſt, becauſe it is a thing extremely important for the good of the catholic religion, for the advantage of which principally this regiment would be levied and maintained; that in this your Majeſty would ſenſibly oblige the King his maſter, and give him an effectual and ſolid mark of friendſhip, at a time when he might, on his ſide, give proofs to your Majeſty of his attachment to your intereſts; that the propoſal which is made, ſhews a determined reſolution on the part of the King of England, to preſerve a ſtrict connection with your Majeſty, and it will even render this connection public, and may produce effects which will not be uſeleſs to your Majeſty's ſervice; that it will be a mortifying diſpleaſure to the Prince of Orange to ſee the troops recalled from Holland paſs into your Majeſty's ſervice; that even the States General will from thence form new ſubjects of jealouſy againſt the King of England, and perceive that he is far from entering into any connection or concert with them; that the Houſe of Auſtria will from thence believe, that there is between your Majeſty and the King of England a connection more ſtrict and more eſtabliſhed than there is, which cannot but be uſeful in the preſent conjuncture; that, in fine, this regiment being in your ſervice, ought to be looked upon as a pledge of an entire confidence on the part of the King his maſter, and that it is a beginning to lead in the end to all that your Majeſty may judge convenient for your intereſts.

I told

I told Lord Sunderland that I could not of myſelf give him any anſwer to a thing ſo new, and of ſo great conſequence; that I could tell him, I believed it would be very difficult; and that he himſelf knew the reaſons which might hinder your Majeſty from taking foreign troops into your ſervice at a time when you had diſbanded ſo great a number of your own ſubjects. The King of England has not as yet ſpoken to me about it, but I don't doubt he will upon the firſt occaſion, and that he will add other reaſons to thoſe which have been alleged by Lord Sunderland."

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James is to reſcind the act of ſettlement in Ireland.—In the Depot.

October 16, 1687.

"I KNOW from Lord Sunderland that Lord Tirconel was the perſon who preſſed the King his maſter moſt to have a regiment of his ſubjects in France, and who has pointed out to him the conſequences of it; this gave me an opportunity of entering upon the affairs of Ireland: Lord Sunderland told me that the King his maſter is reſolved to reverſe the act of ſettlement which was made of the Iriſh Catholics eſtates to the Engliſh Proteſtants upon the return of the late King of England; that this was as yet kept very ſecret; but it would ſoon be gone about, and that meaſures are taken to accompliſh it. The reverſing this ſettlement, which was made in favour of rebels and Cromwell's officers, is looked upon here as the moſt important of all things, and if it can be executed without oppoſition it will be an entire ſeparation of Ireland from England for the future. This is the general ſentiment of all the Engliſh."

In this letter Barillon further ſays, that King James had preſſed upon him Lord Sunderland's project for taking into the French ſervice the Roman Catholics who ſhould leave the Dutch ſervice, alleging that a foreign force of his own ſubjects ready at his call, would be the beſt means of eſtabliſhing Popery.

Barillon in his letter to his court of the 6th of November 1687, mentions his having received orders from Louis to decline receiving into France the troops which ſhould be recalled from Holland, but to offer to maintain them in England. On the 10th of November he writes, that he had communicated his orders to King James, and made a farther offer of what troops James ſhould want from France, "To oppreſs his enemies, and make "himſelf be obeyed by his ſubjects."

James having accepted the offer of maintaining the troops from Holland on French pay in England, his gratitude to Louis is to be ſeen in the following diſpatch.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—James thanks Louis for keeping the 2000 *Papiſts in his pay in England.*

December 8, 1687.

"THE King of England told me two days ago that Lord Sunderland had given him an account of what I had ſaid to him on your Majeſty's part, concerning the keeping up in this country two thouſand men to be recalled from Holland; that he accepted it with a great deal of joy and gratitude; that he could not ſufficiently tell me how much he eſteemed this new mark of your Majeſty's friendſhip; that he charged me to thank you for it on his part; that the keeping on foot ſome

troops of his ſubjects in France had appeared to him advantageous to his deſigns, but that what your Majeſty does is likewiſe highly ſo, and puts him in a condition to purſue boldly the reſolutions which he has taken in favour of the Catholic religion.

I told this Prince that your Majeſty had not heſitated in granting what had been propoſed; and that I had very preciſe orders to aſſure him, that when there ſhould be occaſion for your Majeſty's forces, you would ſoon cauſe a much greater number to paſs over than the body of his ſubjects would have been, which were to have been kept on foot in France. The King of England interrupted me, and ſaid, I hold myſelf fully aſſured of the King your maſter's friendſhip; I ſhall endeavour to merit the continuation of it, and he ſhall know on every occaſion how much I am attached to his perſon and intereſts.

I have ſince ſeen Lord Sunderland, who told me that your Majeſty's offer of keeping up the two thouſand men had produced in the King his maſter's mind a better effect than could have been expected from it; and that he had not omitted to make him obſerve with what readineſs your Majeſty had granted, what had only been inſinuated as a thing that would be agreeable to him."

There are in King William's cabinet the following letters from King James to the Prince of Orange, concerning the recall of theſe troops from the Dutch ſervice.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Recalls the ſix Britiſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice.

Whitehall, Jan. 17th, 1688.

"I HAVE charged my envoy, Monſ. d'Abbeville, who will give you this letter, to give you an account that I think it for my ſervice to call for home the

ſix regiments of my ſubjects, which are under your command, in the States ſervice; and have written to the States to the ſame purpoſe, and hope you will do your part to further their being embarked as ſoon as may be: What elſe I have to ſay upon this ſubject, I refer to my envoy."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Angry that the States have given leave to the officers but not to the ſoldiers.

Whitehall, Feb. 16, 1688.

"YESTERDAY I received yours of the 20th, and at the ſame time the States anſwer about the regiments of my ſubjects which are in their ſervice; by which I was ſurpriſed to find they make a difficulty to let the common ſoldiers have the ſame liberty which they grant the officers, they being all equally my ſubjects. I had not reaſon to expect ſuch an anſwer; what I have further to ſay to you upon that affair, I muſt refer to my envoy, whom I have alſo ordered to ſpeak to the States upon that ſubject."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

Whitehall, March 2, 1688.

"I HAD not time by the laſt poſt to let you know I had received yours of the 2d, by which I found the reaſon why I could not then expect an anſwer to Mr. Abbeville's ſecond memorial concerning my ſubjects in the ſix regiments. The next letters may I think bring me the anſwer of it, which I cannot doubt will be ſuch a one as in reaſon I ought to expect, the common ſoldiers being as much my ſubjects as the officers. You will have ſeen, before this gets to you, the copy of the capitulation you made with the late Lord Oſſory, which is very home to this point; ſo that ſure, if it was not done before, there will be no further difficulty made

of

of letting ſuch of the common men come over as are willing."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—To the ſame purpoſe.

Whitehall, March 13, 1688.

"SINCE I wrote laſt to you I have had two of yours; and having been a-hunting this day, and come home late, am ſo ſleepy that I can only tell you that I did not expect to have had ſuch anſwers from the States to the memorials lately given in by my envoy, eſpecially where your influence is ſo great; and ſure 'tis the firſt inſtance, and I believe will be the laſt, wherever ſubjects were refuſed the liberty to return back when demanded to ſerve their Prince."

Notwithſtanding the refuſal of the States (or rather of the Prince) to permit the Britiſh ſoldiers in their ſervice to obey King James's recall, many of them made their eſcape and returned into England. Of theſe, and other popiſh ſoldiers, three regiments were formed inſtead of the two which had been a little before intended; for on the 26th July, 1688, Barillon writes to his court, that he had given Lord Godolphin 93,440 livres tournois, for the firſt two months pay of the three regiments, and that he was to continue the ſame payment at the end of every ſecond month.

On the 6th of December, 1685, Louis the XIVth, in a letter to Barillon, ordered him to give a penſion to Lord Sunderland of 20,000, or even 24,000 crowns, "As long as he ſhall contribute whatever depends upon him to maintain a good correſpondence between me and the King his maſter, and to remove every engagement which can be contrary to my intereſts."

After James had thanked Louis the XIVth for complying in part with Lord Tyrconnel's project for recalling

calling the troops in the Dutch ſervice, and putting them in the pay of France, the reſolution for recalling them was ſuſpended for ſome time; and about the ſame time Skelton, who was ambaſſador in France, ſuggeſted to the French court his ſuſpicions that Lord Sunderland was ſecretly in the intereſts of the Prince of Orange. Barillon, upon this, got orders from Louis the XIVth to watch narrowly the motions of Lord Sunderland, and to report what he obſerved. Upon Barillon's attempting to ſound him, he who had been the cauſe of getting the recall ſuſpended, agreed to give his intereſt for having the ſuſpenſion removed, provided a large gratification in money ſhould be added to his penſion, for doing ſo; thus, by a refinement of profligacy, deceiving Barillon into the belief that he was engaged in no intereſt except his own. The two following diſpatches, the firſt of which contains an account of his aſking a gratification, and the ſecond of his getting one, though ſmaller than he expected, ſhow to what an extraordinary degree Barillon was duped by him.

Tranſlation.

Diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.—Suſpicions of Lord Sunderland.—Barillon duped by his flattery.—Sunderland aſks a gratification beſides his penſion.—In the Depot.

January 5, 1688.

"I HAVE exactly obſerved what your Majeſty ordered me by your diſpatch of the 18th of December laſt, not to ſhew too much eagerneſs for recalling the troops which are in Holland. I have alſo taken all the pains I could to diſcover who has been the occaſion of ſuſpending the reſolution which appeared to be taken for recalling theſe troops; and I have omitted nothing to find out if the

the ſuſpicion Mr. Skelton appears to have has any ſolid foundation. I do not build any thing upon Lord Sunderland's telling me, that the principal Catholics were of opinion that the recall ought not to be made till after the meeting of a parliament. I know from an intimate of Lord Powis, that Lord Arundel and he believe that recalling the troops which are in Holland at preſent would ſpoil matters: The queſtion is, to know if this opinion is their own, or if Lord Sunderland has inſinuated it to them; or if he has taken the part to retard an affair which at firſt he preſſed very ſtrongly, and ſeemed to have much at heart as well as the King his maſter; this is not eaſy to be penetrated; but what is ſure is, that the delay of recalling theſe troops from Holland till after the ſeſſion of parliament, renders the recall uncertain, and many things may happen to prevent it. Your Majeſty will judge better of this, when I have given you an account of what has paſſed upon this affair within theſe few days.

Lord Sunderland having obſerved that I made no new inſtances for recalling the troops from Holland, ſpoke to me more openly than he ever yet did: He told me that the principal Catholics looked upon this recall of the troops as a rupture with the States General, and principally with the Prince of Orange; and that they were of opinion it could not be done till after a trial had been made of what might be obtained from a parliament; becauſe if they could bring about the revocation of the Penal Laws and the Teſt, there would then be neither danger nor inconvenience in recalling ſuch troops as they might have occaſion for, in order to maintain what ſhould be eſtabliſhed in favour of the Catholics, and prevent the efforts of the factious, who would have no other reſource left than that of exciting troubles and diſorders in England; that if the troops were recalled at preſent,

preſent, it would redouble the ſuſpicions already entertained in this country, of a formed deſign to break with the States General and the Prince of Orange, and conſequently of a ſtrict union with France: That many people well intentioned to the Royal authority, and the revocation of the Penal Laws, would be afraid of being too far engaged againſt Holland; and that it was a ſcheme concerted for the eſtabliſhment of the catholic, and the ruin of the proteſtant religion, and that this would hinder them from favouring the deſigns of his Britannic Majeſty in parliament: That it would be much more prudent to wait for what parliament will do, and not put an obſtacle in the way of the reſolutions which may be taken there.

Lord Sunderland made me underſtand that theſe reaſons had made ſome impreſſion upon the King his maſter's mind, and had prevented him from determining at preſent to recall the troops from Holland; that with regard to himſelf he did not eſteem the reaſons given ſolid, and that he believed he might prevail, and cauſe a reſolution to be taken for recalling theſe troops from Holland immediately: That he had looked at all the conſequences, and very well knew what might happen: That he would convince the King his maſter that it was the immoderate deſire of the principal Catholics to obtain from parliament the revocation of the Penal Laws, which made them apprehend this recall of the troops to be ill-timed; that the offer your Majeſty made, to keep two thouſand men of theſe troops, ſhews a ſincere deſire to oblige the King his maſter; and that he regards it alſo as a certain proof of your good intentions for the eſtabliſhing of his authority, and the advancement of the Catholic religion in England; that the manner in which your Majeſty granted what had been aſked of you, had produced all the effect which could be expected from it in the mind

of

of the King of Great Britain; that your Majeſty would at the ſame time in this follow your true intereſts, and ſtrike an important blow for your ſervice, by making ſo great a diviſion between England and the States General; that the ſupporting two thouſand men will coſt your Majeſty two hundred thouſand crowns, or very little more, and that for this ſum his maſter would enter into an engagement as formal and as ſtrong as the deceaſed King of England did for much more conſiderable ſums. That when this firſt ſtep was taken, there would be followed on the part of the King his maſter, that conduct which your Majeſty could deſire; that the ſecret of keeping two thouſand men in pay was known to him alone, and, in all appearance, would not be to any other, at leaſt he believed it would be truſted to very few people; that it would be eaſy to make the King his maſter ſee that he engages himſelf entirely to your Majeſty for two hundred thouſand crowns per annum, and to inſinuate that he ought to aſk a more conſiderable ſum, but that this is not the conduct he chuſes to follow; that his deſign, on the contrary, is to make the King his maſter contented with what is offered, and enter into all the engagements which are the neceſſary conſequences of it; that the troops in Holland might be recalled immediately, and he would expoſe himſelf to whatever may happen, if this recall of the troops ſhould be anyways prejudicial to what may be expected from a parliament; that he knew very well he was looked upon as the author of this reſolution, and that thoſe who do not approve it, will eaſily find means to exculpate themſelves to the Prince of Orange, and throw the whole upon him; that he was very willing to run the hazard, but at the ſame time he thought he ſhould be aſſured of a full and entire protection from your Majeſty; that upon this account he would freely tell me, that the danger to which he ex-

poſes himſelf obliged him to take ſome precaution, and to deſire your Majeſty to take his ſervices into conſideration, and give him ſome new marks of your goodneſs by beſtowing upon him a gratification, and continuing to him his ordinary penſion; that he would aſk no part of this gratification till after the troops from Holland ſhould arrive here; that he was not afraid of owing this new obligation to you, as his deſign was to enter generally into whatever might be ſuitable to the intereſts of your Majeſty; that it was my part to repreſent the fact as it is, and to let him know your Majeſty's intentions, in order that he might act accordingly.

I anſwered very little to this diſcourſe, becauſe I was much ſurpriſed with the propoſal he made me: I did not undertake at once to write of it, I only told Lord Sunderland that he had ſaid many things to me of great conſequence, which merited more reflexion; that I thought, I could only tell him, he ought not treat upon terms with your Majeſty, and that it would be more ſuitable on his part to do what might be agreeable to your Majeſty, and that afterwards he would have a right to aſk and expect the favours he ſhall have deſerved.

We had yeſterday a ſecond converſation, in which this miniſter repeated what he had ſaid to me, and gave me to underſtand, that his deſign was not to avail himſelf of the preſent conjuncture to draw his own advantage from it; that he continued in the engagements he had taken to be always in your Majeſty's intereſts; that I had ſeen in what manner he had conducted himſelf on all occaſions which had offered; that I knew what part he has in his maſter's confidence; that if recalling the troops from Holland ſuited your Majeſty, you would not be unwilling to recompenſe the perſon who renders you that ſervice, ſince he thereby expoſes himſelf much more than he had yet done; that this ought to be repreſented in a manner

full of reſpect and ſubmiſſion on his part, but in affairs of importance it was neceſſary for him to explain himſelf clearly, and know what he had to depend upon, to the end he might act more ſurely and more boldly; that he hoped your Majeſty would graciouſly beſtow upon him ſuch a ſum as might put him in a condition to confront with leſs anxiety the revolutions which ſo often happen in England; he did not preciſely explain himſelf upon the ſum he aſked, but I believe he expects ſomething conſiderable, and he appears perſuaded, that he ſhall render a great ſervice to your Majeſty in cauſing the troops to be recalled from Holland.

I did all I could to diſſuade him from making this demand, and I repreſented to him, that being already engaged in your Majeſty's intereſts, he ought to do every thing he thought might be agreeable to you, and not put your Majeſty under the neceſſity of granting what he aſked, or diſguſting him by a refuſal.

My remonſtrance produced little effect, and he replied, that if your Majeſty judged it advantageous to your ſervice to have theſe troops recalled, you would not grudge him a ſum which you believed well employed.

It remains for me to give your Majeſty an account of what relates to the ſuſpicion which Mr. Skelton thinks may fall upon Lord Sunderland of a ſecret connexion with the Prince of Orange; I have diſcovered nothing that can make it be believed; on the contrary, I ſee that this miniſter engages himſelf every day more in whatever can be moſt oppoſite to the intereſts of the Prince of Orange, and that he holds a conduct inconſiſtent with the deſign which it is pretended he has, to keep meaſures with him. He is the perſon who for a long time paſt has ardently preſſed all the reſolutions which have been taken in favour of the Catholics; he purſues with firmneſs whatever can lead to the aboliſhing the Penal Laws and the Teſt, which

is what the Prince of Orange fears the moſt. I know that he is reſolved to declare himſelf a Catholic, when the King his maſter will have him. All this is difficult to reconcile with a ſecret engagement in the intereſts of the Prince of Orange. He appears to me to preſerve very little reſerve upon the important things he truſts me with, and hazards a great deal if ſome of them were known. I may, perhaps, be prejudiced in his favour, and that living in a court, the principal employment of which he fills, I am too eaſily led to believe what is moſt agreeable to me, and what moſt facilitates the ſucceſs of the affairs with which I am charged; I ſhall not, however, fail in keeping my eyes open to diſcover, if poſſible, the truth. In the mean time, it ſeems to me, that Lord Sunderland gives himſelf up to me more and more every day, and puts himſelf, if I may ſay ſo, into your Majeſty's hands. It was he who ſet on foot the affair to me of recalling the troops, and who has taken all poſſible pains to make it ſucceed: It is true the execution of this recall is retarded, and the propoſal he makes of an extraordinary gratification, might make it believed that he has delayed the recall of the troops for his own private intereſt; at leaſt he believes he may make uſe of it to bring about his ends. Your Majeſty is to judge what is moſt ſuitable to your ſervice; the reaſons which the Marquis d'Abbeville makes uſe of, (of which I have ſent your Majeſty a copy) prove ſufficiently that it is the King of England's intereſt to recall theſe troops from Holland, but theſe reaſons have not been ſufficient to cauſe the reſolutions to be taken. If your Majeſty thinks it may be for your ſervice to enter into what is propoſed by Lord Sunderland, I make no doubt but the troops will be recalled without loſs of time, and that this miniſter will ſpeedily give this proof of his credit; but if your Majeſty ſhall leave the King of England to act according to what he ſhall judge moſt proper, and

ſhall

ſhall refer yourſelf to what they may determine here with regard to the time of the recall, it will, I believe, be neceſſary to ſpeak to Lord Sunderland in ſuch a manner, as may ſoften the chagrin of having met with a refuſal, and leave a door open to him for managing affairs in the manner he has done hitherto. I ſhall wait for what it may pleaſe your Majeſty to order, that I may execute it punctually.

There will be public prayers ordered throughout England upon a day to be named, for a happy iſſue to the Queen of England's pregnancy; the prayers of the Catholics will be very ſincere; the ſame is not expected in the proteſtant churches; but the biſhops and miniſters will not dare to excuſe themſelves from obeying the proclamation. I am, &c.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth.— Lord Sunderland gets a preſent gratification from France beſides his penſion.—In the Depot.

January 26, 1688.

"IT was not without trouble that I brought the perſon in queſtion (i. e. Lord Sunderland) to content himſelf with what your Majeſty preſcribed to me by your diſpatch of the 17th January; at laſt he ſubmitted himſelf to the aſſurances I gave him on your Majeſty's part, that on other occaſions more ſuitable and more advantageous to your intereſts, you would enter into the conſideration of what he ſhall do for your ſervice. I ſhewed him the importance of your Majeſty's offer of an extraordinary gratification, without exacting any thing from him at preſent. I expreſſed no eagerneſs for recalling the troops from Holland, and left him entirely at liberty to haſten or

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to retard it; I even made uſe of the reaſons contained in your Majeſty's diſpatch, to perſuade him that you had no cauſe to preſs the recall, and that you refer to what the King of England ſhall judge ſhould be done for his own intereſt. The concluſion was, that the perſon to whom I ſpoke accepted the extraordinary gratification, and has entered into a freſh engagement to be entirely in your Majeſty's intereſts, and to ſeek with care for occaſions to give proofs of it. I cannot, however, ſay that he is fully contented; he had conceived hopes of a more conſiderable reward, which he can hardly quit. He imagines he will not ſoon find ſuch an opportunity of deſerving well of your Majeſty. I told him, that enough would offer in time to come, and that having much of the good will of the King his maſter, and a great credit with him, conjunctures would be hereafter found ſtill more favourable and more important."

Barillon in his diſpatches of 26th February, 1ſt, 4th, 11th and 22d March, 12th April, and 24th May, 1688, gives his court accounts, that he had aſked King James to fit out twenty-five ſhips of war to ſupport Denmark; that Sunderland long oppoſed this armament, alleging it would involve England in a quarrel with Holland; but that James, in conſideration of 200,000 crowns to be paid him by France, having at laſt, with Sunderland's approbation, agreed to what was aſked, Sunderland made a merit of his maſter's conſent, to inſinuate an expectation of another gratification to himſelf. "I ought not to conceal from your Majeſty, that Lord Sunderland thinks he has deſerved well of your Majeſty in this, and that he may hope for marks of your goodneſs by an extraordinary gratification."

An account of Barillon's diſburſements, dated 26th July, 1688, contains theſe two articles.

"Of

« Of which I have given for the firſt ſix months of this year, of the penſion which your Majeſty has granted to Lord Sunderland, the ſum of 30,000 livres Tournois.

More to the ſame perſon for extraordinary gratification by your Majeſty, the ſum of 30,000 livres Tournois."

Le Marquis d'Albeville, whom Lord Sunderland choſe to ſend ambaſſador to Holland, at the time when the foundations of the Revolution were laying, was as profligate as himſelf.

Barillon in his letter of 2d September, 1686, reminds Louis the XIVth that he had, upon a former occaſion, engaged Albeville in his intereſts, and aſks a power to do ſo again. He adds theſe words, " The Prince of Orange will do what he can to gain him."

On the 5th September, 1686, Barillon writes, " The ambaſſador of Holland (i. e. d'Avaux) believes that the Prince of Orange will be able, if he has much deſire for it, to engage him in his intereſts."

On the 23d September, 1686, he writes, that he is to pay 300 guineas to Albeville; he adds, " He has taken with me all poſſible engagements." And in his account of diſburſements of the 10th of March, 1687, he ſtates 300 guineas more to Albeville.

Lord Sunderland, as may be ſeen in the *Memoirs*, to which the preſent papers are an Appendix, got the command of the foreign correſpondence, by procuring an order from the King to his ambaſſadors in foreign parts, not to write news of importance to the ordinary miniſters. Among others, Albeville got this order, but he made a merit of it to Barillon, as if himſelf had procured it. Barillon, in the ſame letter of 23d September, writes

writes thus: "He (i. e. Albeville) has done a conſiderable ſervice within theſe three days, having obtained of the King his maſter, that when he is in Holland he may write to Lord Middleton general things, and which may be made public; but that ſecret and important affairs ſhould be addreſſed to Lord Sunderland: This is putting the affairs of Holland into his hands, and taking them out of Lord Middleton's, which may be uſeful on many occaſions."

After this, Barillon in his diſpatches frequently ſends news to France, which he got from Albeville in Holland.

James was lulled into a fatal ſecurity by Sunderland and Albeville.

Louis the XIVth, in a letter to Barillon of the 7th June, 1688, ordered him to warn James to be on his guard againſt the States of Holland, and to make an offer of joining ſixteen French ſhips to the Engliſh fleet.

Barillon anſwers, on the 10th of June, that James had accepted the offer, and that Lord Sunderland propoſed the offer ſhould be made public, to intimidate the Dutch.

Barillon writes, on the 14th June, that James had altered his mind, and thought the junction needleſs. "He does not appear perſuaded that this junction can be neceſſary this year, or that there is an appearance of any enterpriſe on the part of the States General againſt him."

Notwithſtanding this, Louis, in his letter to Barillon of 24th June, 1688, writes, that he is to keep his ſhips ready. The following paſſage in the letter, marks the vain-glorious character of that monarch: "And I believe the report of this alone will be ſufficient to reſtrain the Prince of Orange, and prevent him from attempting any thing."

The

The looſeneſs of Albeville's diſpatches was calculated to continue the deception of James and his court. Barillon, on the 2d Auguſt, 1688, writes thus of them: "It does not appear to me that either his Britannic Majeſty or his principal miniſters are much alarmed with the informations of the Marquis of Albeville, none of them being circumſtantial enough."

Even the French court were little ſedulous to let James know all his danger, being probably not unwilling to ſee a family and civil war among the only powers they had to dread, though little deeming it was to end ſo ſoon. Barillon got no accounts from his court of the extent of the Prince of Orange's preparations till the 12th of Auguſt, when Louis indeed gave him a full detail of them in a letter of that date, and charged him to beg James to prepare himſelf, "Par terre et par mer"—"By land and by ſea."

On the 23d and 26th of Auguſt, 1688, Barillon writes his court that James is at length come to believe in the Prince of Orange's intentions, and has deſired the French ſhips to be kept ready at Breſt for his aſſiſtance. Yet on the 30th of Auguſt James had been brought back to his original ideas of ſecurity; for Barillon, of that date, writes: "He (i. e. James) told me that he had ſtill difficulty to believe that the Prince of Orange could attempt making an invaſion upon this country."

On the 2d of September Barillon writes that he had adviſed James to ſend to Ireland for the troops which were there; that James approved, but Sunderland made difficulties. He adds: "This miniſter appears perſuaded that the Prince of Orange will not dare to attempt an invaſion."

On the 6th of September Barillon writes thus of the incredulity of James and his court: "His Britannic

Majeſty and his principal miniſters do not believe that the Prince of Orange dare make a landing in England."

In this laſt letter Barillon informs Louis the XIVth, that James was willing the Iriſh troops ſhould come; but that Sunderland objected they would alarm England; that they could not arrive in time enough if the Prince ſhould make an attempt; that Ireland ought not to be left defenceleſs, becauſe the Prince perhaps intended to land there; and that at any rate the conſent of parliament ought to be waited for.

Louis the XIVth being aſtoniſhed at the ſlumber of James, ſent over Bon Repos, one of his courtiers, on purpoſe to rouſe him to a ſenſe of his danger, to preſs him to recall his troops from Ireland for his defence, and to offer an inſtant junction of the French to the Engliſh fleet. Barillon writes, on the 9th September, that Bon Repos was arrived, and that the King had accepted the offer of the French fleet, and directed Lord Sunderland to take meaſures for its junction with his own.

Yet, on the 13th of September, James loſt again the ſenſe of his danger; for Barillon, of that date, writes: "His Britannic Majeſty and his moſt confidential miniſters do not believe that the Prince of Orange has a deſign to attempt an invaſion of England in the preſent conjuncture."

The following letter from Monſ. Barillon to his court, ſo late as the 18th of September, ſhows to what a ſtrange degree King James was faſcinated by Lord Sunderland.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth, September 18, 1688.—*The King and Lord Sunderland do not believe the Prince of Orange will make an attempt upon England.—In the Depot.*

" I RECEIVED the evening before laſt your Majeſty's diſpatch of the 13th of this month by an expreſs; I went that inſtant to the King of England, and told him, that upon the laſt advices received from Holland, your Majeſty had wiſhed to give him a freſh mark of your friendſhip, and of the ſincere part you took in all that concerned him, and that this had obliged you to diſpatch a meſſenger expreſs, but who had brought me no accounts of any thing new. The King of England ſhewed himſelf very ſenſible of what I ſaid to him, and without entering into what regarded himſelf, he aſked me what I knew of the motion of your Majeſty's forces; I told him your Majeſty had written nothing to me about it, becauſe there was nothing which your Majeſty could as yet know; but that I had your orders to tell him he ſhould be the firſt to be informed of the reſolutions which your Majeſty will take upon the motions of your enemies. His Majeſty then entered into a diſcuſſion of the advices come from Holland, and ſaid that in ſuch important affairs nothing ought to be neglected, but that his opinion was, the Prince of Orange did not dare to undertake any thing againſt England in the preſent conjuncture; and that there was no appearance he could engage the States General in a war againſt your Majeſty and him at the ſame time; that he even thought the troops of the States would not undertake any thing which might be conſidered as an act of hoſtility; and that therefore it is poſſible the war may not be ſo ſoon,

however far advanced the diſputes on both ſides may ſeem.

I had afterwards a long converſation with Lord Sunderland; his way of thinking is the ſame as the King his maſter's; they neither of them believe that the Prince of Orange has any deſign to make a deſcent in England, and they imagine if he does, no man who has any property will declare for him."

On the 18th and 23d of September, and the 18th of October, 1688, Barillon writes, that King James was neglecting to ſend for the troops from Ireland.

On 18th of October Barillon writes, that the troops were at laſt ordered, both from Ireland and Scotland: A period when it is plain that their march could only tend to leave theſe countries open, but not to join James in time enough to reſiſt the firſt impreſſions of the Prince of Orange.

Barillon writes on the 25th of October, that James laid upon Sunderland's counſels the blame of the diſavowal of d'Avaux's memorial, and the impriſonment of Skelton.

But the groſſeſt of all Sunderland's artifices to deceive his maſter and Barillon, was his making a public profeſſion of the Roman Catholic religion, at a time when he knew the Prince of Orange was coming to England to remove all thoſe who profeſſed it, from all objects of ambition. Barillon gives the following account of this matter.

Tranſlation.

Extract of a diſpatch from Mr. Barillon to Louis the XIVth. —Lord Sunderland's reaſons for the public declaration of his Popery.

July 8, 1688.

"LORD Sunderland has openly declared himſelf a Catholic; the King of England expreſſed a great joy at it, and has ſpoken of it in a council held of the principal Catholics, as a circumſtance uſeful to his affairs, and from which advantages will be drawn for the ſucceſs of his deſigns; although Lord Sunderland was already in the firſt employment, and had a greater ſhare than any perſon in his maſter's confidence, what he has done gives ſtill a new luſtre to his favour, and augments in this country the opinion of his credit. This miniſter ſpoke to me as if he deſired nothing more than to deſerve your Majeſty's protection, and to be aſſured of it. Upon this conſideration he propoſes to redouble his care and his application to do whatever he believes may be ſuitable to your Majeſty's intereſts. Notwithſtanding his hopes from the preſent ſtate of affairs by the birth of a Prince of Wales, he well knows, that he riſks much more for the future, by declaring himſelf a Catholic in a country, where the laws made againſt them are ſtill in being; but he thought he owed the declaration of his religion, firſt to his conſcience, he having been long perſuaded that the only true religion was the Catholic; and beſides this conſideration, which ought to be the ſtrongeſt, he was willing to ſhut the mouths of his enemies, and take from them all pretence of ſaying there could be any reſerve in his conduct in favour of the Prince of Orange's party. What Lord Sunderland has done has been much ſpoken of

of at court theſe two days, and 'tis thought his Britannic Majeſty will make uſe of it to preſs other perſons who are attached to him, to do the ſame thing. Lord Sunderland has made no new abjuration of hereſy, having done it more than a year ago in the preſence of Father Petre."

The following paſſage from Lord Dartmouth's notes upon Burnet's Hiſtory, gives an inſtance of the affectation of zeal for James by which Lord Sunderland endeavoured to deceive others as well as that Prince. The period to which it relates, is the birth of the Prince of Wales.

" The old Earl of Bradford told me he dined in a great deal of company at the Earl of Sunderland's, who declared publicly, that they were now ſure of their game; for it would be an eaſy matter to have a houſe of commons to their minds, and there was nothing elſe could reſiſt them. Lord Bradford aſked him if they were as ſure of the houſe of lords, for he believed they would meet with more oppoſition there than they expected. Lord Sunderland turned to Lord Churchill, who ſat next him, and in a very loud ſhrill voice, cried, O, ſilly! why your troop of guards ſhall be called to the houſe of lords."

Lord Sunderland concluded all his hypocriſy by pretending to aſk refuge in France, at a time when he had reſolved to take it in Holland.

Barillon writes on 7th of October, that Sunderland told him he would be ruined if the Prince of Orange ſucceeded; and that he had applied to him for a refuge in France. He writes on the 6th of November, that Sunderland had renewed his application, and that he, Barillon, had promiſed him a retreat in France.

But

But though thoſe around King James were by means of Lord Sunderland's having the command of the foreign correſpondence, kept in the dark as to the preparations of the Prince of Orange, there were not wanting men of honour to warn him of the miſchiefs which his ideas of arbitrary power would bring upon him. Lord Dartmouth's manuſcript notes on Burnet, contain the following paſſage:

"P. 595. Not long before his (Biſhop Morley's) death (for he then kept his chamber) my father carried me with him to Farnham caſtle. I was not above twelve years old, but remember the biſhop talked much of the duke, and concluded with deſiring my father to tell him from him, that if ever he depended upon the doctrine of non-reſiſtance he would find himſelf deceived, for there were very few of that opinion, though there were not many of the church of England that thought proper to contradict it in terms, but was very ſure they would in practice. My father told me he had frequently put King James in mind of Morley's laſt meſſage to him, though to very little purpoſe: For all the anſwer was, that the biſhop was a very good man, but grown old and timorous."

While tempeſts were on all hands gathering round King James, he intereſted himſelf only in reconciling the King of France with the holy ſee, and in the fate of a war againſt the Infidels.

While the Prince of Orange was in the heart of his kingdom, Barillon writes to his court on the 22d of November, that James had ſent for him with joy to inform him of a letter he had received from Lord Thomas Howard,

Howard, to let him know that the Pope had accepted his mediation in the affair of Franchiſes.

The following letters (except a few already printed concerning the recall of the Dutch troops) are the laſt which King James wrote to the Prince of Orange. They come down ſo low as the 17th of September, and to the end are full of the other folly of a war againſt the Infidels. It is obſervable however, of all theſe letters after the Prince's refuſal to part with the Britiſh troops in the Dutch ſervice, that the expreſſion of his aſſurance of kindneſs at the end of the letters is changed. For whereas his former way of giving that aſſurance, was by ſaying he would be as kind to the Prince "as the Prince could deſire," he now ſays, "as the Prince could expect." The letters are in King William's box.

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Deſires peace in Europe.

Whitehall, Jan. 10, 1688.

"I HAD not yours of the 12th till this day, and know not by what accident thoſe letters which were written the poſt after were here two days ſooner. I ſee you apprehend ſome things which have been tranſacted lately, may cauſe trouble in Europe. No body deſires more the continuance of the peace than I do."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—He is againſt peace with the Turks.

Whitehall, April 3, 1688.

"THERE is very little news ſtirring here, all things being very quiet, and I hope will continue ſo, not only in this country, but on your ſide of the ſea alſo, I mean in Chriſtendom; for if there ſhould be peace with

the Turks, I fear a war would break out in ſome part or other of Europe."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Likes the Turkiſh war.

Whitehall, May 15, 1688.

"I HAVE received yours of the 18th, by the which I find the Earl of Suſſex was gone from the Hague, and had been with you on board the ſhips which were before Scheveling, which muſt needs have been a new and pleaſing ſight to one who lives ſo far from the ſea. I am now ſetting out my ſummer guard, though there will be little for them to do, except the French who are gone, or agoing to Algiers, oblige thoſe people to make peace with them, and then of courſe they muſt fall out with me, though they have already war with you. For my part, I continue ſtill of the mind I was, and will endeavour to ſupport the peace of Chriſtendom, that the Emperor and Venetian may proſecute the war againſt the Turks. I intend to have a camp as uſual at Hounſlow the beginning of next month."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—An apology for not writing to him.

St. James's, May 19.

"I AM ſo aſhamed to have been ſo long without anſwering your obliging letter, that I know not what to ſay for myſelf. I well believe you know me too well to ſuſpect it want of kindneſs, and therefore I hope you will think it as it was, want of time, or at the worſt a little lazineſs, which being confeſſed, I hope will be excuſed, for elſe I did long to return you a thouſand thanks, as I do now for your kind wiſhes, which I hope you will continue, and believe that I am with all ſincerity truly yours,

M. R."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Anxious about the Turkiſh war.

Whitehall, June 8, 1688.

"I HAVE had yours of the 11th, and am afraid that the death of the Elector of Cologne may in time cauſe ſome diſturbance. I ſhould be glad it did not, being ſtill deſirous there ſhould be no war amongſt Chriſtians. And by letters of the 2d of May, from my ambaſſador at Conſtantinople, I am informed that the Turk can have no conſiderable army in the field this year, by reaſon of the great diſorders they have had amongſt themſelves; ſo that the Imperialiſts have a fair opportunity of taking Belgrade this ſummer."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The Prince of Wales born.—The Turkiſh and Algerine war.

St. James's, June 12, 1688.

"THE Queen was, God be thanked, ſafely delivered of a ſonne on Sunday morning a little before ten; ſhe has been very well ever ſince, but the child was ſomewhat ill this laſt night of the wind and ſome gripes, but is now, bleſſed be God, very well again, and like to have no returns of it, and is a very ſtrong boy. Laſt night I received yours of the 18th, and hope by this the campaign is well begun towards Belgrade. I expect every day to hear what the French fleet has done at Algiers, having heard they were juſt arrived before that place."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—Sorry for the ſlowneſs of the Turkiſh war.

St. James's, July 13, 1688.

"I HAVE had yours of the 13th, and am ſorry things go on ſo ſlowly in Hungary; the Duke of Loraine's having been indiſpoſed has been very advantageous to the Turk.

Turk. This next week I intend to go down to the buoy of the Nore, to ſee the ſmall ſquadron of ſhips I have out, having ordered them to come thither for that purpoſe; and about the 24th of this month intend for Windſor, to ſtay there the remaining part of the ſummer. My troops are ſtill encamped at Hounſlow. When Mr. Zuliſten goes back he will give you an account of them."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—A dry anſwer to the Prince's congratulation on the birth of the young Prince.

St. James's, July 22d, 1688.

"I HAVE had yours by M. Zuleſtein, and who has, as well as your letter, aſſured me of the part you take on the birth of my ſon; and would not let him return without writing to you by him, to aſſure you I ſhall always be as kind to you as you can with reaſon expect."

King James's Queen to the Prince of Orange.—On the ſame ſubject.

St. James's, July 24th, 1688.

"THE compliments Mr. Zuliſtein made me from you, and the letter he brought me are ſo obliging, that I know not which way to begin to give you thanks for it. I hope he will help me to aſſure you that I am very ſenſible of it, and that I eſteem and deſire nothing more than the continuance of your friendſhip, which I am ſure ſhall always deſerve one way mine, by being with all the ſincerity imaginable truly yours.

M. R."

King James to the Prince of Orange.—The Turkiſh war.

Windſor, Auguſt 31, 1688.

"I HAVE received yours of the 30th from Loo, and by it find you had had the good news of the Elector of Bavaria's having paſſed the Sane, and, I hope, the next letters from that army will bring the news of the taking of Belgrade. When the Emperor is once maſter of that place and Gradiſca, he will have a very good frontier towards the Turks. This place of itſelf affords little news, for 'tis none now to tell you when the parliament is to meet, and till then we are to expect what news we have from your ſide of the water."

King James's laſt letter to the Prince of Orange.—The ſame ſubject.

Windſor, September 17, 1688.

"I HAVE received yours of the 17th from the Hague, by which I find you were come back thither from a voyage you had made into Germany, to ſpeak with ſome of the Princes there. I was very glad to hear, by an expreſs which came to the Spaniſh ambaſſador here, of the taking of Belgrade, which, with the taking of Gradiſka, will ſecure the Emperor's conqueſts in thoſe parts. I am ſorry there is ſo much likelihood of war upon the Reyn; nobody wiſhing more the peace of Chriſtendom than myſelf. I intend to go to-morrow to London, and the next day to Chatham, to ſee the condition of the new batteries I have made in the Medway, and my ſhips which are there."

James's diſavowal of d'Avaux's memorial at the Hague, and the impriſonment of Skelton, who had ſuggeſted it, provoked

provoked the pride of Louis, and he left James to his fate. The following letter from Louis to Barillon both ſhews his pique, and gives full evidence that there was no formal treaty between Louis and James.

Tranſlation.

Letter from Louis the XIVth to Mr. Barillon.—Is piqued by James's diſavowing d'Avaux's memorial.—No formal treaty between James and Louis.—In the Depot.

September 30, 1688.

"MR. Barillon, Your letter of the 23d of this month informs me of the precautions the King of England takes to guard himſelf againſt an invaſion by the Prince of Orange in England; and I am very glad to learn that he neglects nothing to make that Prince repent of ſo unjuſt an enterpriſe; but I am, on that account, the more ſurpriſed at all the ſteps the ſaid King takes at London and the Hague, to ſhew that he had no part in the declaration which the Sieur d'Avaux made by my orders to the States General. He ought not to doubt that if any thing is capable to divert the Prince of Orange from paſſing into England, it is the intereſt which I ſhew I take in all that regards the ſaid King; and though there is no treaty ſigned between me and him, nevertheleſs the ties of agreement ſince his coming to the throne, have formed a more ſtrict one than if ſtipulated by a formal treaty; and moreover, whatever means I may have to repel, with my forces alone, all my enemies, I ſhall always be very glad that the Princes who have any affection for my crown, ſhould ſhew hoſtility to my enemies without my aſking it of them; in ſhort, in whatever light the declarations which the King of England has made to the States General are examined, there will always be found a weak-

a weakneſs capable of encouraging the Prince of Orange in his firſt deſigns.

I approve alſo of the manner in which you have talked to the King of England and the Earl of Sunderland concerning the recall of Mr. Skelton; this envoy rather deſerves a recompence, than a diſgrace ſo public as that of being obliged to return immediately to England to give an account of his actions."

King James to his dying hour complained of his enemies for alleging that there was a formal treaty between him and France, and aſſumed merit from his innocence of the charge: A ſtrong inſtance how the mind of man may impoſe upon itſelf. Many papers in this Appendix ſhew that the connexion was ſtricter between him and Louis than any formal treaty could create; and the words of Louis in this laſt letter, prove that Louis thought ſo.

Amongſt Lord Dartmouth's notes on Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory there is the following one:

Page 783. "The Duke of Chandos told me, as a thing he knew to be true, that the King of France wrote to King James to let him know that he had certain intelligence that the deſign was upon England, and that he would immediately beſiege Maſtrick, which would hinder the States from parting with any of their force for ſuch an expedition, but the ſecret muſt be kept inviolable from any of the miniſters. Soon after the States ordered ſix thouſand men to be ſent to Maſtrick, upon which the King of France deſired to know of King James if he had revealed it to any body, for he himſelf had to none but Louvois, and if he had betrayed him ſhould treat him accordingly. King James's anſwer was, that he never told it to any body but Lord Sunderland, who he was very ſure was too much in his intereſt to have diſcovered it. Upon which the King of France ſaid, he ſaw plainly that King

King James was a man cut out for deſtruction, and there was no poſſibility of helping him."

N° VII.

The Princeſs Anne's letters to her ſiſter immediately before the revolution.

The Earl of Hardwicke was ſo obliging as to give me the following curious notes from the Princeſs Anne's letters to her ſiſter, which were taken from the originals by the late Doctor Birch.

Doctor Birch's notes from the Princeſs Anne's letters to her ſiſter.

Cockpit, Dec. 29, 1687.

"SORRY people have taken ſuch pains to give ſo ill a character of Lady Churchill .... I believe there is nobody in the world has better notions of religion than ſhe has. It is true, ſhe is not ſo ſtrict as ſome are, nor does not keep ſuch a buſtle with religion; which I confeſs, I think, is never the worſe, for one ſees ſo many ſaints meer devils, that if one be a good Chriſtian, the leſs ſhew one makes, it is the better in my opinion. Then, as for moral principles, it is impoſſible to have better; and without that, all the lifting up of hands and eyes, and going often to church, will prove but a very lame devotion. One thing more I muſt ſay for her, which is, that ſhe has a true ſenſe of the doctrine of our church, and abhors all the principles of the church of Rome; ſo that as to this particular, I aſſure you ſhe will never change. The ſame thing, I will venture, now I am on this ſubject, to ſay for her Lord; for though he is a very faithful ſervant to

the King, and that the King is very kind to him, and, I believe, he will always obey the King in all things that are consistent with religion; yet rather than change that, I dare say, he will lose all his places, and all that he has.

K. once talks to her upon religion, upon occasion of her talking to some lady, or looking another way, when a priest said grace at the King's table.

Report of Lord Treasurer's being to be put out of his place. The King tells her that this morning.

Lord Treasurer told me the other day, the King commanded him to hear a dispute; and that he heard one between two of their priests, and Dr. Jane and Dr. Patrick of our side; and by it, that he was the more confirmed of the truth of our religion."

January 10, 1687-8.

"AFRAID to send a letter by Mr. d'Albeville, he having always had a very odd character.—He has always been counted a spy, that you may have a care of him.

Lord Tyrconnel is going to-morrow.

Very sorry that the King encourages people of that religion so much.

Lord Clarendon, as to his own affairs, has been a very ill manager, which I cannot help being sorry for on my mother's account; for as for himself, he has not behaved himself so well to me as I think he had reason, nor no more indeed has any of that family, which one may think a little extraordinary."

Cockpit, Jan. 31, 1687-8.

"I AM sorry the King encourages the Papists so much; and I think it is very much to be feared, that the desire the King has to take off the Test, and all other laws against them, is only a pretence to bring in Popery.

I am

I am ſorry the King relies ſo much upon Lord Sunderland and Lord Godolphin; for every body knows, that once they were as great enemies as any he had, and their own hearts can only tell what converts they are. As for the firſt of them, by all outward appearance, he muſt be a great knave (if I may uſe that expreſſion of a miniſter), for he goes on fiercely for the intereſts of the Papiſts, and yet goes to no church, and has made no public declaration of his religion, whatever it is. I fear he has not much of any. All we can do in theſe matters, is to pray to God to open the King's eyes, and to order all things for the beſt, that this poor nation may not be overthrown by Popery.

The Cockpit, March 13, 1687-8.

"THIS letter going by ſure hands, I will now venture to write my mind very freely to you.

Denied the ſatisfaction of ſeeing her ſiſter this ſpring, though the King gave her leave when ſhe firſt aſked it. Imputes this to Lord Sunderland, for the King truſts him with every thing; and he going on ſo fiercely for the intereſt of the Papiſts, is afraid you ſhould be told a true character of him.

You may remember, I have once before ventured to tell you, that I thought Lord Sunderland a very ill man, and I am more confirmed every day in that opinion. Every body knows how often this man turned backwards and forwards in the late King's time; and now, to complete all his virtues, he is working with all his might to bring in Popery. He is perpetually with the prieſts, and ſtirs up the King to do things faſter than I believe he would of himſelf. Things are come to that paſs now, that, if they go on ſo much longer, I believe, in a little while, no Proteſtant will be able to live here.

The King has never ſaid a word to me about religion ſince the time I told you of; but I expect every minute,

and am reſolved to undergo any thing rather than change my religion. Nay, if it ſhould come to ſuch extremities, I will chuſe to live on alms rather than change.

This worthy Lord does not go publicly to maſs, but hears it privately at a prieſt's chamber, and never lets any body be there, but a ſervant of his.

His lady too, is as extraordinary in her kind; for ſhe is a flattering, diſſembling, falſe woman; but ſhe has ſo fawning and endearing a way, that ſhe will deceive any body at firſt, and it is not poſſible to find out all her ways in a little time. She cares not at what rate ſhe lives, but never pays any body. She will cheat, though it be for a little. Then ſhe has had her gallants, though may be not ſo many as ſome ladies here; and with all theſe good qualities, ſhe is a conſtant church woman; ſo that to outward appearance one would take her for a ſaint, and to hear her talk, you would think ſhe was a very good Proteſtant; but ſhe is as much one as the other; for it is certain that her Lord does nothing without her.

. . . One thing there is, which I forgot to tell you, about this noble Lord, which is, that it is thought, if every thing does not go as he would have it, that he will pick a quarrel with the court, and ſo retire, and by that means it is poſſible he will think he makes his court to you.

There is one thing about yourſelf, which I cannot help giving my opinion in, which is, that if the King ſhould deſire you and the Prince of Orange to come over to make him a viſit, I think it would be better (if you can make any handſome excuſe) not to do it; for though I dare ſwear the King could have no thought againſt either of you, yet ſince people can ſay one thing, and do another, one cannot help being afraid; if either of you ſhould come, I ſhould be very glad to ſee you; but

but really if you or the Prince ſhould come, I ſhould be frightened out of my wits for fear any harm ſhould happen to either of you."

The Cockpit, March 14, 1687-8.

"I CANNOT help thinking Manſell's Wife's (i. e. the Queen) great belly is a little ſuſpicious. It is true indeed, ſhe is very big, but ſhe looks better than ever ſhe did, which is not uſual; for people when they are ſo far gone, for the moſt part, look very ill: Beſides, 'tis very odd, that the Bath, that all the beſt Doctors thought would do her a great deal of harm, ſhould have had ſo very good effect ſo ſoon, as that ſhe ſhould prove with child from the firſt minute ſhe and Manſell met, after her coming from thence. Her being ſo poſitive it will be a ſon, and the principles of that religion being ſuch, that they will ſtick at nothing, be it never ſo wicked, if it will promote their intereſt, give ſome cauſe to fear there may be foul play intended. I will do all I can to find it out, if it be ſo; and if I ſhould make any diſcovery, you ſhall be ſure to have an account of it."

The Cockpit, March 20, 1687-8.

"I HOPE you will inſtruct Bentley, what you would have your friends to do, if any alteration ſhould come, as it is to be feared there will, eſpecially if Manſell has a ſon, which I conclude he will, there being ſo much reaſon to believe it is a falſe belly. For, methinks, if it were not, there having been ſo many ſtories and jeſts made about it, ſhe ſhould, to convince the world, make either me, or ſome of my friends feel her belly; but quite contrary, whenever one talks of her being with child, ſhe looks as if ſhe were afraid one ſhould touch her. And whenever I have happened to be in the

room, as ſhe has been undreſſing, ſhe has always gone in the next room, to put on her ſmock. Theſe things give me ſo much juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion, that I believe, when ſhe is brought to bed, no body will be convinced 'tis her child, except it prove a daughter. For my part, I declare I ſhall not, except I ſee the child and ſhe parted.

I can't end my letter without telling you, that Rogers's wife (i. e. Lady Sunderland) plays the hypocrite more than ever; for ſhe goes to St. Martin's, morning and afternoon (becauſe there are not people enough to ſee her at Whitehall chapel), and is half an hour before other people come, and half an hour after every body is gone, at her private devotions. She runs from church to church after the famouſeſt preachers, and keeps ſuch a clatter with her devotions, that it really turns one's ſtomach. Sure there never was a couple ſo well matched, as ſhe and her good huſband; for as ſhe is throughout in all her actions the greateſt jade that ever was, ſo is he the ſubtilleſt workingeſt villain, that is on the face of the earth."

The Cockpit, March 26, 1688.

King angry with the Princeſs of Orange for having taken Lord Coote into her family.

Richmond, April 11, 1688.

Account of her manner of life.

The Cockpit, April 29, 1688.

Firmneſs to her religion.

"I ABHOR the principles of the Church of Rome as much as it is poſſible for any to do, and I as much value the doctrine of the Church of England. And certainly there is the greateſt reaſon in the world to do ſo, for the doctrine of the Church of Rome is wicked and

and dangerous, and directly contrary to the Scriptures; and their ceremonies, moſt of them, plain downright idolatry."

Richmond, May 9, 1688.

"UPON the King's proceedings againſt the Univerſity of Cambridge. By this, one may eaſily gueſs, what one is to hope for henceforward—ſince the prieſts have ſo much power with the King as to make him do things ſo directly againſt the laws of the land, and indeed contrary to his own promiſes. It is a melancholy proſpect that all we of the Church of England have. All the ſectaries may now do what they pleaſe. Every one has the free exerciſe of their religion, on purpoſe, no doubt, to ruin us, which, I think, to all impartial judges is very plain. For my part, I expect every minute to be ſpoke to about my religion, and wonder very much I have heard nothing of it yet.

. . . . This laſt honour the King has conferred on Lord Sunderland, will, I doubt not, make him drive on our deſtruction with more haſte. His Lady too, is now in all appearance like to be a favourite with the Queen; for now, that Lady Rocheſter is dead, there is nobody to put the Queen in mind often how ill a woman Lady Sunderland is. Though the Queen of late had no good opinion of Lady Rocheſter; yet the truth ſhe told of Lady Sunderland, did certainly keep her from growing great with the Queen while ſhe lived. But now ſhe is dead, Lady Sunderland, what with her fawning inſinuating way, and the court her Lord makes to the Queen, is to be feared will grow in great favour; and then no doubt ſhe will play the devil, for ſhe has no religion, though ſhe pretends to a great deal; and ſo ſhe is great, ſhe cares not who ſhe ruins. And to ſay truth, ſhe does not want wit nor cunning, and that, with her ill

ill nature together, may make her capable of doing a great deal of miſchief. The Queen, you muſt know, is of a very proud haughty humour; and though ſhe pretends to hate all form and ceremony, yet one ſees, that thoſe that make their court that way, are very well thought of. She declares always, that ſhe loves ſincerity, and hates flattery; but when the groſſeſt flattery in the world is ſaid to her face, ſhe ſeems extremely well pleaſed with it. It really is enough to turn one's ſtomach, to hear what things are ſaid to her of that kind, and to ſee how mightily ſhe is ſatisfied with it. All theſe ways Lady Sunderland has in perfection, to make her court to her. She is now much oftener with the Queen than ſhe uſed to be.

It is a ſad, and a very uneaſy thing to be forced to live civilly, and as it were freely, with a woman that one knows hates one, and does all ſhe can to undo every body; which ſhe certainly does.

One thing I muſt ſay of the Queen, which is, that ſhe is the moſt hated in the world of all ſorts of people; for every body believes, that ſhe preſſes the King to be more violent than he would be of himſelf; which is not unlikely; for ſhe is a very great bigot in her way; and one may ſee by her, that ſhe hates all Proteſtants. All Ladies of quality ſay, ſhe is ſo proud, that they don't care to come oftener than they muſt needs, juſt out of mere duty. And indeed, ſhe has not ſo great a court as ſhe uſed to have. She pretends to have a great deal of kindneſs for me; but I doubt it is not real; for I never ſee proofs of it, but rather the contrary.

Apprehends that the King will ſpeak to her about religion, when the Prince goes to Denmark at the end of the month."

The Cockpit, June 18, 1688.

"MY dear ſiſter can't imagine the concern and vexation I have been in, that I ſhould be ſo unfortunate to be out of town when the Queen was brought to bed, for I ſhall never now be ſatisfied, whether the child be true or falſe. It may be it is our brother, but God only knows, for ſhe never took care to ſatisfy the world, or give people any demonſtration of it. It is wonderful, if ſhe had really been with child, that nobody was ſuffered to feel it ſtir, but Madam Mazarin, and Lady Sunderland, who are people that nobody will give credit to. If out of her pride, ſhe would not have let me touch her, methinks it would have been very natural for her ſometimes, when ſhe has been undreſſing, to have let Mrs. Roberts, as it were by chance have ſeen her belly; but inſtead of endeavouring to give one any ſatisfaction, ſhe has always been very ſhy both to her and me. The great buſtle that was made about her lying in at Windſor, and then reſolving all of a ſudden to go to St. James's, which is much the propereſt place to act ſuch a cheat in; and Mr. Turone's lying in the bed-chamber that night ſhe fell in labour, and none of the family beſides being removed from Whitehall, are things, that give one great cauſe to be ſuſpicious. But that, which to me ſeems the plaineſt thing in the world, is, her being brought to-bed two days after ſhe heard of my coming to town, and ſaying that the child was come at the full time, when every body knows, by her own reckoning, that ſhe ſhould have gone a month longer. After all this, 'tis poſſible it may be her child; but where one believes it, a thouſand do not. For my part, except they do give very plain demonſtrations, which is almoſt impoſſible now, I ſhall ever be of the number of unbelievers. I don't find that people are at all diſheartened,

but ſeem all of a mind, which is a very comfortable thing at ſuch a time as this.

All the time the biſhops were in the Tower, every body flocked to ſee them; and there was great joy at their coming out. As many Lords as could without falling into a premunire, intended to petition the King, but their not having done it yet, makes me fear they will ſtay till 'tis too late. One cannot help having a thouſand fears and melancholy thoughts; but whatever changes may happen, you ſhall ever find me firm to my religion, and faithfully yours."

Windſor, June 22, 1688.

"HAVING heard, that in Scotland every body has taken new commiſſions for their places, without taking the Teſt, and thinking it of very great conſequence, becauſe all that has been done there, has been but a fore-runner of what in a ſhort time has been done here, I thought myſelf obliged to ſend one a purpoſe to give you notice of it, as ſoon as it was poſſible, that you may, if you can, do ſomething to put a ſtop to it, before it is gone too far; for I am wholly of your mind, that in taking away the Teſt, and Penal Laws, they take away our religion; and if that be done, farewell all happineſs; for when once the Papiſts have every thing in their hands, all we poor Proteſtants have but diſmal times to hope for. Though we agree in theſe matters, yet I can't help fearing, that you are not of my opinion in other things, becauſe you never anſwered me to any thing that I have ſaid of Rogers, nor of Manſell's wife."

The Cockpit, July 9, 1688.

"THE Prince of Wales has been ill theſe three or four days; and if he has been ſo bad as ſome people ſay, I believe it will not be long before he is an angel in heaven.

You

You will not have many more letters from me, from hence, this ſummer; for I intend next week, an it pleaſe God, to go to Tunbridge, which the doctors tell me is the beſt thing I can do to hinder me from miſcarrying, when I am with child again. I confeſs I am very glad I am adviſed to go thither, for it is very uneaſy to me to be with people, that every moment of one's life one muſt be diſſembling with, and put on a face of joy, when one's heart has more cauſe to ake; and the Papiſts are all ſo very inſolent, that it is inſupportable living with them. There is no remedy but patience; but you may eaſily imagine, as the world goes now, to a ſincere mind, the court muſt be very diſagreeable.

This going with the packet-boat, I ſhall not write to you, by to-morrow's poſt.

Queſtions ſent by the Princeſs of Orange, to the Princeſs Anne of Denmark.

July 21, 1688.

" 1. WHETHER the Queen deſired at any time any of the ladies, in particular the Princeſs of Denmark, to feel her belly, ſince ſhe thought herſelf quick; and who thoſe ladies are; and when that was, whether in the beginning of her being quick, or of late?

2. Whether the milk that, as is ſaid, was in the Queen's breaſts, was ſeen by many, or conducted in a myſtery?

3. Whether the aſtringents, that the Queen is ſaid to have taken, were taken by her openly, or if a myſtery was made of that?

4. Whether the treating of the Queen's breaſts for drawing back the milk, and the giving her clean linen, has been managed openly, or myſteriouſly?

5. At what hour did the Queen's labour begin?

6. At what hour was the notice of it ſent to the King? Whether the King did not lie at St. James's, or with the Queen that night; or if he was gone back to Whitehall?

7. Whether upon ſending to the King, the thing was let fly over St. James's and Whitehall, or if the notice was ſent ſecretly to the King?

8. Whether did the King ſend about for the privy counſellors; or if he took thoſe that were by accident at Whitehall?

9. At what time came the King with the council into the Queen's chamber?

10. Whether was there a ſcreen at the foot of the bed, between it and the reſt of the room, or not?

11. Whether did any women, beſides the confidents, ſee the Queen's face when ſhe was in labour? And whether ſhe had the looks of a woman in labour? Who was in the room, both men and women? What time they came in, and how near they ſtood?

12. How long was the King talking to the privy counſellors, after the child was carried into the next room, before he went to look upon it? and in this, as well as in the other queſtions, relating to the point of time, a critical anſwer, as near to a minute as it is poſſible, is deſired.

13. What women, of one ſort or other, were preſent? And if no woman was called in to hold the Queen?

14. Were no ladies ſent for? or who were ſent for? and at what time the meſſage was ſent to the Queen Dowager? Alſo at what time ſhe came?

15. Whether in any former labour the Queen was delivered ſo myſteriouſly, ſo ſuddenly, and ſo few being called for?

16. If many obſerved the child's limbs being ſlender at firſt, and their appearing all of a ſudden to be round and full?

17. Is

17. Is the Queen fond of it?

18. How Mrs. Dawſon, Mrs. Bromley ſtands with the Queen? Which of her bed-chamber women are moſt in favour?

Ad. 12. Who took the child, when it was born?

Ad. 13. If the King did not uſe to be nearer the bed, and hold the Queen in former labours?

Ad. 16. If every body is permitted to ſee the child at all hours, dreſſed and undreſſed?

Ad. 16. Who is about it, rockers and dry nurſe?

Ad. 3. What doctors were conſulted about the Queen, before, and ſince her being at the Bath? Whether Doctor Waldgrave alone, or others with him, knew the particulars of her condition, all along?"

The Princeſs Anne of Denmark's anſwer.

The Cockpit, July 24, 1688.

"I Received yeſterday, yours of the 19th, by which I find you are not ſatisfied with the account I have given you in my laſt letter; but I hope you will forgive my being no more particular, when you conſider, that not being upon the place, all I could know, muſt be from others; and having then been but a few days in town, I had not time to enquire ſo narrowly into things, as I have ſince; but before I ſay any more, I can't help telling you, I am very ſorry you ſhould think I would be negligent in letting you know things of any conſequence. For though I am generally lazy; and it is true indeed, when I write by the poſt, for the moſt part, I make thoſe letters very ſhort, not daring to tell you any news by it; and being very ill at invention, yet I hope you will forgive my being lazy, when I write ſuch letters, ſince I have never miſſed any opportunity of giving you all the intelligence I am able; and pray be not ſo unjuſt to believe I can think the doing any thing you can deſire, any trouble; for cer-

tainly I would do a great deal more for you, if it lay in my power, than the anſwering your queſtions, which I ſhall do now as exactly as you deſire.

1. I never heard any body ſay they felt the child ſtir; but I am told Lady Sunderland and Madam Mazarin ſay they felt it at the beginning. Mrs. Dawſon tells me ſhe has ſeen it ſtir, but never felt it.

2. I never ſaw any milk; but Mrs. Dawſon ſays ſhe has ſeen it upon her ſmock, and that it began to run at the ſame time it uſed to do of her other children.

3. For what they call reſtringing draughts, I ſaw her drink two of them; and I don't doubt but ſhe drank them frequently and publicly before her going to the Bath. Dr. Waldgrave was very earneſt with Sir Charles Scarburgh, to be for her going thither; but he was ſo fierce againſt it, that there was another conſultation of doctors called, Sir Charles Scarburgh, Dr. Waldgrave, Wetherby, Brady, and Brown. After that, there was only Sir Charles Scarburgh and Dr. Waldgrave (and for the firſt I believe he knew but little), excepting once when ſhe was to be let blood, and when ſhe was to have gone to Windſor. Then ſome of the others were called in to give their opinions.

4. All I can ſay in this article is, that once in diſcourſe, Mrs. Bromley told Mrs. Roberts, one day Rogers's daughter came into the room, when Mrs. Manſell was putting off her clouts, and ſhe was very angry at it, becauſe ſhe did not care to be ſeen when ſhe was ſhifting.

5. She fell in labour about eight o'clock.

6. She ſent for the King at that time, who had been up a quarter of an hour, having lain with her that night, and was then dreſſing.

7. As ſoon as the King came, he ſent for the Queen Dowager, and all the council. After that, it was known all over St. James's.

8. Moſt

8. Moſt of the other men, I ſuppoſe, that were there, was at the King's riſing.

9. They came into the room preſently after the Queen Dowager came, which is about half an hour before ſhe was brought to bed.

10. There was no ſcreen. She was brought to bed in the bed ſhe lay in all night, and in the great bed-chamber, as ſhe was of her laſt child.

11. The feet curtains of the bed were drawn, and the two ſides were open. When ſhe was in great pain, the King called in haſte for my Lord Chancellor, who came up to the bed-ſide to ſhew he was there; upon which the reſt of the privy counſellors did the ſame thing. Then the Queen deſired the King to hide her face with his head and periwig, which he did, for ſhe ſaid ſhe could not be brought to bed and have ſo many men look on her; for all the council ſtood cloſe at the bed's feet, and Lord Chancellor upon the ſtep.

12. As ſoon as the child was born, the midwife cut the navel-ſtring, becauſe the after-burthen did not follow quickly; and then ſhe gave it to Mrs. Labadie, who, as ſhe was going by the bed-ſide, croſs the ſtep, to carry it into the little bed-chamber, the King ſtopt her, and ſaid to the privy counſellors, that they were witneſſes there was a child born, and bid them follow it into the next room and ſee what it was, which they all did; for till after they came out again, it was not declared what it was; but the midwife had only given a ſign that it was a ſon, which is what had been done before.

13. When the Queen Dowager firſt came into the room ſhe went up to the bed-ſide, but after that ſtood all the while by the clock. There was in the room Lord Chancellor, Lord Preſident, Lord Privy Seal, the two Chamberlains, Lord Middleton, Lord Cran , Lord Huntingdon, Lord Powis, Lord Dover, Lord Peterborough,

rough, Lord Melfort, Lord Dartmouth, Sir John Ernley, Lord Preſton, Sir Nicholas Butler, Duke of Beaufort, Lord Berkeley, Lord Murray, Lord Caſtlemain; theſe were of the council: And for others, there was Lord Feverſham, Lord Arran, Sir St. Fox, and Mr. Griffin, beſides pages of the back-ſtairs and prieſts. The women that were there were, Lady Peterborough, Lady Bellaſis, Lady Arran, Lady Tyrconnel, Lady Roſcommon, Lady S. Buckley, Lady Fingal, Madam Mazarin, Madam Bouillon, Lady Powis, Lady Strickland, Lady C , Mrs. Cran, two of the Queen Dowager's Portugueſes, Mrs. Bromley, Mrs. Dawſon, Mrs. Waldgrave, Lady Wentworth, and Mrs. Feraine. All theſe ſtood as near as they could. Lady Bellaſis gave the midwife the receiver, and Mrs. Dawſon ſtood behind a Dutch chair that the midwife ſat upon to do her work. All the time the child was parted, I do not hear of any body that held the Queen except the King, and he was upon the bed by her all the while.

14. I don't hear that any ladies were ſent for but the Queen's own, and they were called preſently after the Queen Dowager. She came a quarter after nine: Where ſhe ſtood, and at what time ſhe was ſent for, I have already told you.

15. Her labour never uſed to be ſo long.

16. I never heard what you ſay of the child's limbs. As for ſeeing it dreſt or undreſt, they avoid it as much as they can. By all I have ſeen and heard, ſometimes they refuſe almoſt every body to ſee it; that is, when they ſay it is not well; and methinks there is always a myſtery in it, for one does not know whether it be really ſick, and they fear one ſhould know it, or whether it is well, and they would have one think it is ſick, as the other children uſed to be. In ſhort, it is not very clear any thing they do; and for the ſervants, from the higheſt to the loweſt, they are all papiſts.

17. The

17. The Queen forbid Lady Powis to bring the child to her before any company; but that, they ſay, ſhe uſed to do to her other children. I dined there the other day, when it was ſaid it had been very ill of a looſeneſs, and it really looked ſo; yet when ſhe came from prayers ſhe went to dinner without ſeeing it, and after that played at comet, and did not go to it till ſhe was put out of the pool.

18. I believe none of the bed-chamber women have any credit with the Queen but Mrs. Tureine; but they ſay Mrs. Bromley has an intereſt with the King.

I am going to Tunbridge; but if I was to ſtay here I could not watch the child, for it is to be at Richmond. Lady Churchill does not go with me at firſt, and as long as ſhe ſtays here I am ſure ſhe will do all in her power to give you and I an account if any thing happens that is worth knowing.

I have done my endeavour to inform myſelf of every thing; for I have ſpoke with Mrs. Dawſon, and aſked her all the queſtions I could think of: For not being in the room when the Queen was brought to bed, one muſt enquire of ſomebody that was there; and I thought ſhe could tell me as much as any body, and would be leſs likely to ſpeak of it; and I took all the care I could, when I ſpoke to her, to do it in ſuch a manner that I might know every thing; and in caſe ſhe ſhould betray me, that the King and Queen might not be angry with me.

It was ſhe that told me what I have ſaid in the 5, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 14, and 15th Articles. She told me, beſides, that when ſhe came to the Queen, ſhe found Mrs. Tureine and the midwife with her. All that ſhe ſays ſeems very clear; but one does not know what to think; for methinks it is wonderful if it is no cheat, that they never took no pains to convince me of it.

I hope I have anſwered your letter as fully as you deſire; if there be any thing elſe you would know, pray tell me

me by the firſt ſafe hand, and you ſhall always find me very diligent in obeying you, and ſhewing by my actions how real and ſincere my kindneſs is.

One thing I had forgot, which is, that the laſt time ſhe was brought to bed, the reaſon of her being delivered in the great bed was becauſe ſhe was catched; and this time, Mrs. Dawſon ſays, though the pallet was up, the Queen would not go into it becauſe the quilts were not aired."

Windſor, Auguſt 18, 1688.

"I AM in as great expectation of being tormented as ever, for I can never believe that Manſel would go on ſo violently, if he had not ſome hopes that in time he may gain either you or me."

In the Depot.

The Princeſs Anne, in the above letter, of 13 March, 1688, mentions a viſit ſhe intended to have paid her ſiſter in the ſpring of that year. Barillon writes to Louis the XIVth, on the 13th March, 1688, that Prince George had applied to King James for leave to go to Denmark, and that the Princeſs ſhould in the mean time pay a viſit to her ſiſter in Holland, and that the King had at firſt conſented, but afterwards changed his mind. Barillon writes, on the 17th March, 1688, that the Princeſs Anne had herſelf applied to the King, but had got a refuſal. There can, I imagine, remain little doubt what the intention of this interview was.

To defend the Revolution upon a pretended ſuppoſititious birth, is to affront it; it ſtands upon a much nobler foundation, the rights of human nature. The ſuppoſititious birth was a mere lie of party, and was intended to

have been made uſe of ſix years before, if King James's Queen had then been brought to bed of a ſon.

In The Obſervator, No. 194, printed Wedneſday, Auguſt 23d, 1682, is the following remarkable paſſage:

"If it had pleaſed God to give his Royal Highneſs the bleſſing of a *ſon*, as it proved a *daughter*, you were prepared to make a *Perkin* of him. To what end did you take ſo much pains elſe, by your inſtruments and intelligences, to hammer it into the people's heads that the Dutcheſs of York was *not* with child? And ſo, in caſe of a ſon, to repreſent him as an *impoſtor*; whereas you have now taken off the maſk in confeſſing the daughter.—I would have the impreſſion of this cheat ſink ſo far into the heads and hearts of all honeſt men, as never to be defaced, or forgotten. For we muſt expect, that the ſame flam ſhall, at any time hereafter, *be trumpt up again upon the like occaſion*."

Compare alſo Lord Clarendon's Diary as follows:

Diary of the Earl of Clarendon, 1688, p. 20.

"Jan. 15th. In the morning, I went to St. James's church; this is the thankſgiving day appointed for the Queen's being with child; there were not above two or three in the church who brought the form of prayer with them. It is ſtrange to ſee how the Queen's great belly is every where ridiculed, as if ſcarce any body believed it to be true. Good God help us!"

BOOK VI.

THE Prince of Orange takes his Farewel of the States.——Rendezvous at Helvoetſluys.——The Prince ſails.——Driven back.——Sails a ſecond Time.——Movements of his Fleet.——He lands at Torbay.——Firſt Events.——James joins his Army.——His Intention to ſend off the Prince of Wales diſappointed.——Different Councils given to James in the Camp.——Inſurrections.——Flight of Prince George and the Princeſs.——James retires.——Conſternation in London.——James aſſembles the Peers.——Counſels which they give him.——Treaty.——Falſe Manifeſto.——Continuance of Inſurrections.——Miſery of James.——Different Counſels given to him in his Court.——Queen's Flight with the Prince of Wales.——Terrors of the King, and his Flight.——State of the City.——Univerſal Panic of an Iriſh Maſſacre.——Council of Peers.——James ſeized at Feverſham.——Returns to London.——Behaviour of the Prince upon this News.——The Dutch enter London in the Night.——The Prince's Meſſage to the King.——James goes to Rocheſter.——The Prince arrives in London.——James flies to France.

THE wind having at laſt changed to the north-eaſt, the Prince of Orange, on the 16th of October, took his leave of the States at the Hague. He thanked them for all their kindneſſes to him in his youth; he

The Prince takes his farewel of the States.

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

said, "He took God to witneſs, that, ſince he had "been intruſted with the affairs of their commonwealth, "he had never entertained a wiſh that was contrary to "its intereſt. If he had erred, he erred as a man, his "heart was not to blame. In his preſent enterpriſe he "truſted to Providence. But if any thing fatal ſhould "happen to him, to them he recommended his memory, "their common country, and the Princeſs his wife, "who loved that country as ſhe did her own: His laſt "thoughts ſhould be upon them and upon her." The States feeling, upon the near approach of danger, that anxiety to which they had been ſtrangers, when it was more diſtant, interrupted him* with their tears. But, notwithſtanding the tender ſenſations in his own breaſt, and which he diſcovered in theirs, he pronounced his harangue, and took his farewel, with a countenance manly and determined. His expreſſions melted the hearts of the tender, his manner commanded thoſe of the brave.

Rendezvous at Helvoet.

When he arrived at Helvoetſluys, he found his fleet and army aſſembled. The fleet conſiſted of ſixty-five ſhips of war, of ſeventy veſſels of burden to attend them, and of five hundred tranſports. His army was compoſed of near four thouſand cavalry, and about eleven thouſand infantry, of the beſt troops of the republic, with three hundred French officers, proteſtant refugees, who had ſolicited to be employed, becauſe they thought that, in fighting againſt King James, they ſought for their God. Of theſe troops, the moſt formidable were the ſix Britiſh regiments in the ſervice of the Dutch, who had moſtly been driven from their country in the late and the preſent reigns; and who, therefore, like other exiles, were impatient to exert themſelves in the eyes of foreigners, take vengeance on their enemies, and recover

* Burnet. D'Avaux. October 26.

their

1688.

their own poſſeſſions and honours. Twenty thouſand ſpare arms were prepared for the inſurgents in England. The whole artillery of every town in Holland was collected for the ſervice of this fleet and army*, and only twelve ſhips of war were left for the defence of the ſecond maritime power of the world. Vaſt multitudes were aſſembled at Helvoet; ſome to admire the magnificence of the ſhew, and others to take farewel of their relations and friends. All were agitated with hopes and fears: Hopes of ſucceſs, fears of ſeeing each other no more. As the time of embarking approached, anxieties aroſe even in the braveſt, when they reflected that they were going to attack the braveſt of nations. But, as ſoon as the embarkation was completed, the view of their own numbers and ſtrength revived the ſpirits even of the moſt timid. The fleet was divided into three ſquadrons, on board of which were troops of different nations. The Engliſh and Scotch commanded by General M'Kay †, a Scotchman of a noble family, ſailed under the red flag, the Prince's guards and the Brandenburghers, by Count Solms ‡, a German of ſtill higher birth, under the white, and the Dutch, with the French proteſtant refugees, by the Count of Naſſau, of the Prince's family, under the blue flag. In compliment to England, Herbert led the van: Evertzen a Dutch admiral brought up the rear: The Prince of Orange, with another Dutch admiral, placed himſelf in the centre, his ſhip carrying the flag of England, and his own arms, of which the motto was, "Je maintiendray,"—"I will maintain;" and which, by a Dutch conceit, he by an addition turned into this motto: "I will maintain the proteſtant religion and the liberties of England."

* D'Avaux. † Life of King William, vol. 3. p. 351.
‡ Buſching's Geography.

The

PART I. BOOK VI.

1688.

The Prince fails.

The fleet weighed anchor on the 19th of October during the ſilence of the night; ſo that no ſounds were to be heard, except thoſe which aroſe from the unfurling of ſails, the hauling of ropes, and the voices of the commanders *. After the Prince had ſeen the departure of all the ſhips, he joined them himſelf, and took his ſtation. A few hours after the fleet was at ſea, the wind turned to the ſouth, and carried it along the coaſt of Holland, ſome leagues to the north: So that it continued half a day † in the full ſight of Schevelin, a village cloſe adjoining to the Hague, to which all the inhabitants of that town repaired to behold the fleet; ſome flattered with the grandeur of their republic, others ‡ reflecting with anxiety, that their frontier on one ſide was in the hands of the ancient tyrants, and, on the other, expoſed to an army of foreign mercenaries, all the artillery of their towns carried off, only a few ſhips of war left in their harbours, and the whole ſtrength of the republic ſent, during the rigours of winter, to depend upon the hazards of winds and ſeas, and the fortune of war.

Is driven back by a ſtorm.

During the night the wind changed to the north-weſt; and a dreadful tempeſt ſucceeded, the horror of which was augmented by the darkneſs of the ſeaſon, the number of the ſhips which endangered each other, and the terrors of the landmen, who having been unaccuſtomed to the ſea, either ſunk into deſpair, or perplexed the ſeamen with unavailing help: The number of horſes, with the quantity of artillery and baggage, put haſtily on board, and ill faſtened, added equally to the diſtraction and the danger. In two hours ‖ the whole fleet was diſperſed; ſo that in the morning ſcarcely two ſhips could

* D'Avaux, Nov. 1. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.
‖ Rapin, vol. 2. p. 766.

be ſeen together. After having been toſſed all next day and night in the ocean, ſome of the ſhips took refuge in different ports along the coaſt of Holland and Zealand; and others caſt anchor wherever they could hope for a temporary relief, in places where there were no ports to protect them. The Prince re-entered Helvoet* with only four ſhips of war, and ſixty tranſports, but with a mind calm and unruffled, which reflected more ſplendour upon him than all the pomp which two days before had attended him. The moment he got into the road, he diſpatched coaſt-pilots† to cruize through the ſeas between Holland, France, and England, in order to get intelligence of his ſcattered ſhips, and with directions for all they ſhould find to rejoin him at Helvoet. In a few days the reſt of the fleet began to re-aſſemble from their different retreats, many of them with their rudders broken, and their ſails and tackle flying looſe in the air; ſome with their guns and baggage thrown over-board; and a few towed in by other veſſels. Nine hundred horſes had been caſt over-board to ſave the reſt: But no ſhips were miſſing except one tranſport, which was driven upon the coaſt of England, and was taken there: This veſſel, by accident, had far more than her own complement of men, having no leſs than four companies of ſoldiers on board. Though ſeamen are apt to obſerve preſages at all times, and moſt men in time of danger; yet no body fancied more in this ſtorm than the accident of weather. The States deriving freſh vigour from difficulty, directed all loſſes to be repaired, and the armament to be reinforced. The Prince, by his activity and ſpirit, inflamed the young, and animated the old, remaining continually on board, and paſſing from ſhip to ſhip to encourage his fellow-ſufferers. In ſeven days the

* D'Avaux, Nov. $\frac{1}{11}$.

† Life of King William, p. 351.

fleet

PART I. BOOK VI.

1688.

fleet was again aſſembled, and, in four more, was repaired and ready to ſail.

Reports in England.

As reports are always increaſed by diſtance, it was believed in England, that the whole armament was loſt. James received the news at dinner; and, with an appearance of great devotion, remarked, "It is not to be wondered at, for the hoſt has been expoſed theſe ſeveral days *!" In order to complete the deception, and to make James lay aſide his preparations, the Dutch gazettes, by private orders from the States, aggravated the damage, and gave reaſon to believe, that the expedition was deferred until ſpring: Care was taken that theſe papers ſhould be ſent into England. The great number of men found in the tranſport which had been taken, heightened the importance of the Prince's army in the eyes of the Engliſh, when it was conſidered, that this tranſport was only one of five hundred. Upon the report, that the expedition was laid aſide, thoſe who had been irreſolute before now prepared to ſubmit to the fate of the nation; and the reſolute, who had declared more openly their ſentiments, expected in ſilent anguiſh their own ruin.

The Prince fails a ſecond time.

The Prince, however, ſet ſail a ſecond time, on the 1ſt of November, with a fair wind, and a briſk gale, amidſt † the ſounds of trumpets and artillery, the ſhouts and acclamations of the ſoldiers and mariners, and the prayers of his countrymen. He ſteered for above twelve hours to the northward, in order to create a belief, in the advice-packets which watched his fleet, that his intentions were to land in the north of England. This ſtratagem ſucceeded. James directed ‡ the march of part of his forces to the north. But, as ſoon as theſe packets diſappeared to carry home intelligence of the courſe, and night came on, the Prince made a ſignal to tack about, and to

Movements of his fleet.

* Miſſon.

† Life of King William, vol. 3. p. 351.

‡ Ibid. p. 353.

put

put before the wind to the weſtward. On the ſecond morning after he ſailed, his fleet was diſcovered ſtretching towards the Channel, with all the ſail it could ſpread: His ſhips formed a line of twenty miles in extent: While the rear was in a manner cloſe at hand, the van could ſcarcely be diſcerned. During ſeven hours, this huge body continued paſſing in the view of both ſhores, which were covered with innumerable ſpectators, who ſtood gazing, with admiration mixed with terror, upon a ſpectacle at once ſo pleaſing and dreadful; and who loaded it with prayers or imprecations, according to the different religions, or intereſts, or paſſions, of the nations before whom it paſſed. When the fleet approached the coaſt of England, the Prince changed his ſhip, and ſailed at the head of all, to be the foremoſt in danger, diſplaying his own ſtandard, in order to make himſelf more conſpicuous, and to animate others by his example. About mid-day, he lay by in the ſtraits of Calais and Dover, until the whole fleet ſhould come up; partly, in order to make his armament appear the greater in ſo narrow a ſea, and, by that means, to conquer firſt the imagination of thoſe whom he was invading; and partly to call a council of war, upon intelligence which had been received, that there was danger from the Engliſh fleet which lay behind him at the Gunfleet. Here it was reſolved to change the diſpoſition of the fleet; and that the Prince with the tranſports, and three ſhips of war to guard him, ſhould ſail down the Channel in the van, while all the other ſhips of war ſhould remain in the rear, to engage the Engliſh, in caſe they came out. The whole fleet being accordingly drawn up into one body, of about ſixteen ſhips deep, which ſtretched from coaſt to coaſt, and within a league of each, the evolution was made in the middle of the ſtraits *. While it was performing, the trumpets and other warlike

* Rapin. Life of K. William, vol. 3. p 352.

PART I. BOOK V.

1688.

inſtruments again ſounded, the veſſels ſaluted, and all the honours and pomp of war were exhibited in the ſight of the people, who were aſſembled on the coaſts of both kingdoms. But the ſame ſtrong eaſt wind, which carried the Prince triumphantly through the Channel, prevented the Engliſh fleet from coming out: For the ſhips rode at their ſtation*, with their yards and topmaſts down, unable to purchaſe their anchors, and ſaw part of the Dutch fleet paſs within their ſight: Circumſtances fortunate for the fleet of England. For Lord Dartmouth had been loaded with riches and honours by his maſter: He had been gained by little attentions, which are often more engaging than thoſe of greater importance: An inſtance of this happened at Coventry †: For the citizens having preſented the King with a gold cup, whilſt he paſſed through their city, he handed it to Dartmouth with this compliment: "There is an ac- "knowledgment from the city of Coventry, for the ſuf- "ferings of your father in the cauſe of my father in this "town." He was the more attached too to the King, becauſe he had often warned him againſt the evil courſes of his reign; and fidelity is the common attendant of an honeſt freedom. And therefore, though Dartmouth knew that ſome of his captains had engaged not to fight againſt the Prince of Orange, and that others were irreſolute what to do, he had reſolved ‡ to render the contraſt conſpicuous between their behaviour and his own.

The Prince lands.

The fleet was intended for Torbay, on account of the capaciouſneſs of the landing place. But the Prince's pilot miſreckoned, and not only overſhot it, but alſo the port of Dartmouth. The next port was Plymouth: But the Prince was not certain of reception there; and, if he tacked to make Torbay, there was reaſon to be appre-

* Burchet, p. 18. † Collins, v. 4. p. 311. ‡ Burchet.

henſive,

kenſive, leſt Lord Dartmouth, who by the change of the wind was now under ſail, might, in the interval, come up with the fleet of England. While the minds of thoſe on board were in this cruel ſtate of perplexity, the wind changed in a moment to the ſouth, carried the Prince in four hours into Torbay, and forced Lord Dartmouth back to his ſtation. Even the firmeſt minds, in great ſituations, are apt to regard omens: The Prince was anxious to land on the 4th of November, becauſe it was the day of his birth, and of his marriage. But the Engliſh rejoiced, that the landing could not be made effectual until the day after, which being the anniverſary of the gunpowder treaſon, they imagined, would prove a lucky day to a proteſtant cauſe. As ſoon as the landing was made good, the whole fleet and army joined in expreſſing their gratitude by prayers to that Providence which they believed had interpoſed in their favour *.

He ſtops at Exeter. Unpromiſing appearances at firſt.

The Prince marched his army from Torbay to Exeter, and, for the greater expedition, ſent his baggage round by ſea to meet him there. But the terrors of Jeffreys's executions ſtill remaining in the weſtern parts of England, few joined him in his march. Sir William Courtney, the friend of the unfortunate Lord Ruſſel, in whoſe houſe the Prince lodged, becauſe he counted upon him, gave no countenance to his enterpriſe, either in his own name, or by his tenants. The city of Exeter ſcrupled to receive the Prince. Lamplugh, the biſhop, fled to the King, for which he was inſtantly named to the vacant archbiſhopric of York. His clergy refuſed to attend a ſermon preached in the cathedral by Burnet. Even the diſſenters refuſed the keys of their meeting-houſe to Ferguſon. But Ferguſon ſaid, laughing, "I will take the kingdom of

* Carſtairs was the perſon who ſuggeſted this to the Prince. It had a wonderful effect upon the army. This was the foundation of the future favour of Carſtairs.

PART I. BOOK VI.

1688.

"heaven by violence," and calling for a hammer, broke open the door with his own hand. The Prince's friends looked upon each other, waiting to see who should act first, covering their own fears under complaints of those of others, and trembling at the consciousness of the engagements they had taken. But the Prince, who knew that many of his English friends had high honours and great fortunes to risk, which might damp their spirits at the time he most needed their assistance, who besides was all his life suspicious of the political levity of the English, and who knew he could not conquer eight millions of people with 15,000, and that his only argument for coming to England was the invitation of the people themselves, stopped at Exeter, and fixed his residence there, to wait the effects which the promises of his friends should produce, and privately resolved to return, if they produced none. He continued there near a week, with no better prospect than when he arrived. It is reported, that once, peevish with disappointment, he betrayed in public an intention to depart immediately, and leave the people of England and their King to settle their differences at their leisure among themselves *.

Numbers at length join him.

Great passions and great perils often throw a kind of stupor over the minds of men, which robs them of their wonted powers: But, when a few recover themselves, all recover with them. Major Burrington, who had been in the army, was the first man of fashion who joined the Prince: The gentlemen of Devonshire and Somersetshire followed. With these came Sir Edward Seymour, one of the most eminent of the tories. His arrival gave the Prince an opportunity of perceiving the high spirit of the English: Having said to Seymour, "I believe, Sir Edward, you are of the Duke of Somerset's family." "No, Sir," answered he, "The Duke is of mine."

* Burnet.

Lord

Lord Abingdon, another of the ſame party, Mr. Ruſſel, brother to the late Lord, Mr. Wharton, and many others of rank from different parts of England, haſtened to wait upon the Prince. When theſe things were reported, his other friends animated each other; complained of the old government; flattered themſelves with hopes in innovations; and every man miſtaking his neighbour's courage for his own, all ruſhed to the camp, or to the ſtations which had been aſſigned them, with a violence proportioned to their late fears. Some of thoſe, who had at firſt ſcrupled to ſign the aſſociation with the Earl of Devonſhire, now offering to ſign it, the Earl told them, "There was *now* no need of their aid *." In order to prevent thoſe who profeſſed their adherence from retracting or temporiſing, or, as Sir Edward Seymour expreſſed it, "to keep the party from becoming a rope of ſand," Sir Edward drew up an aſſociation for defence of the Prince, and the cauſe he was engaged in, which was ſigned by all, even by many who refuſed afterwards to take the oaths to the Prince of Orange, when ſeated upon the throne †. Yet, amidſt the ſatisfaction which the Prince received from this new appearance of things, there appeared the remains of his former ſpleen. He obſerved with emphaſis to the firſt conſiderable body of gentry who waited upon him, "That he had come upon *their* invitation, and expected them *ſooner*."

1688.

Defection in the King's army.

But more material ſigns of diſaffection to James ſoon appeared: The loyalty of the army began to give way: Lord Colcheſter, once friend to the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, was the firſt of James's officers who deſerted: He brought off a few of his men. Lord Cornbury aimed a more important blow: He pretended an order from the King, to beat up the enemies quarters near Dorcheſter,

* Collins's Peerage, vol. 1. p. 174. † Clarendon's Diary, Dec. 5, Gazette, Nov. 12.

and

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

and carried with him his own regiment of dragoons, and two of horſe, towards the Prince, whom he advertiſed of his approach. The Prince made a body of his forces advance twenty miles, either to receive or intercept them, according as they ſhould join or reſiſt. A march of thirty-eight miles in one day, made by Lord Cornbury, with unuſual haſte, gave ſuſpicion to ſome of his officers: They inſiſted for an explanation: He had not reſolution either to avow or to deny the intention. Moſt of the officers and ſoldiers returned, but ſome who favoured the cauſe of the Prince, or loved their leader, or were fond of innovations, proceeded, and made the junction good. Soon after the Prince received, by Mr. Byng, a meſſage from many captains of the fleet, that they were ready to obey his orders.

Petition of Peers for a parliament.

In the mean time, James was involved in a perplexity at London, as much by the anxiety of his friends, as by the deſigns of his enemies: A petition was preſented to him by the two archbiſhops, and two biſhops, in the name of nineteen peers and prelates, to call a free parliament. This petition was ſigned indiſcriminately by ſome of both parties; by the one ſide in hopes he would comply, and ſave his crown at the expence of ſome of its prerogatives; and by the other, in the belief, that he either would not, or that he could not, without diſtracting his party, loſing the perſonal attendance of his friends, and manifeſting his fear. Lord Halifax and Lord Nottingham had ſuggeſted the meaſure: Yet, when they ſaw the names of Lord Rocheſter, and of the Biſhop of Rocheſter, at the petition, they refuſed to join in any meaſure with any perſon who had ſate in the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion. A refuſal which ſeemed to ſhew attention to the King, to whom the calling of a parliament was not agreeable; yet diſcovered their intention, if the opportunity offered, to raiſe themſelves on the ruins of thoſe who had concurred, or

even

even ſeemed to concur, with the late meaſures. James gave the following anſwer to the petition: "My Lords, "what you aſk of me, I moſt paſſionately deſire; and I "promiſe you, *upon the faith of a King*, that I will have "a parliament, and ſuch an one as you aſk for, as ſoon "as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this realm: "For how is it poſſible that a parliament can be free in "all its circumſtances, as you petition for, whilſt an "enemy is in this kingdom, and can make a return of "near an hundred voices?" The petition and anſwer were both publiſhed, and afforded a new ſubject of contention to the minds of men, already ſufficiently heated. For, while ſome called the formality of a petition ungenerous to a Prince in diſtreſs, others imputed the refuſal to a ſenſe of guilt, and fear of parliaments, or to obſtinacy. All remarked, that there muſt be ſome miſunderſtanding between the King and his own friends, when part of them had joined in aſking what he had refuſed.

James joins his army. His ſpeech to his officers.

James diſcovered ſtill one other ſign of ſpirit: He joined his army, conſiſting of 24,000 men, while it lay at Saliſbury, reſolved to die a King of England, if he could not live one. "The ſight of their Sovereign," he ſaid, "and the common ties of honour, would prevent his "troops from betraying the cauſe of their Prince and "their General, when he ſought protection from them, "and ſhared dangers with them." But in order to add the impulſes of ſhame to thoſe of duty and honour, before he ſet out, he called together the officers who were in London, and made the following ſpeech to them: "Ac- "cording to the Lords petition, I have engaged my royal "word to call a free parliament, as ſoon as ever the Prince "of Orange has quitted the kingdom; and I am reſolved "to do all that lies in my power to quiet the minds of my "people, by ſecuring their religion, laws, and liberties. "If you deſire any thing more, I am ready to grant it.

"But

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

"But if, after all this, any of you is not satisfied, let him "declare himself. I am willing to grant passes to all "such as have a mind to go over to the Prince of "Orange, and spare them the shame of deserting their "lawful Sovereign." Among these officers were Lord Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, and the Colonels Kirk and Trelany. They felt a momentary compunction, but it was only momentary.

His intention to send off the Prince of Wales disappointed.

But, while James was preparing to expose his own life, he resolved to take care of that of his infant son. The night before he left London, he sent him privately to Portsmouth, together with a letter written with his own hand, to Lord Dartmouth, with orders to carry the Prince into France. Dartmouth, in the beginning of his answer, conjured his master with submission and affection to think no more of a step so fatal to his family; and in the end of it told him, with an honest boldness, that he would oppose the order if given to another. James upon this directed the young Prince to be brought back to a palace in which it was doomed he should never reign *.

Different counsels given to James in the camp.

The same evening that James joined his army at Salisbury, a number of the officers waited on Lord Feversham the General, and told him, that they could not in conscience fight against the Prince of Orange; and Lord Feversham informed him, that, though the private men were steady, the officers in general could not be depended upon. It is reported, that he proposed to James to dismiss all the suspected officers, and to place, for a few days, the most trusty serjeants in their stead. Lord Dunbarton, a son of the house of Douglas, asked leave to attack the Prince with his Scottish royal regiment, consisting at that time of 5000 men, of which

* Vide Appendix to this Book.

3000 were with the regiment; aſſuring the King, that, though he could not hope to defeat the Prince, he would give him a ſhock which the King might take advantage of: But James refuſed, ſaying, "He would not throw "away the lives of ſo many brave men, upon an action "which could not be deciſive." Lord Dundee, with a generous confidence, adviſed him either to fight the Prince, or go to him in perſon, and demand his buſineſs in England *. But, of all thoſe who preſſed James to a battle, the foremoſt was Lord Churchill, in order to wipe off the ſuſpicions which had been ſuggeſted againſt him. The Duke of Grafton gave the ſame advice. Next day theſe two perſons, with the Colonels Kirk and Trelany, and ſeveral other officers of rank, went over to the Prince. Lord Churchill left a letter for James, reſpectful, yet alarming: For, though he promiſed warmly to preſerve his duty to the King; yet, by ſaying that he could not expect ſo great favours, "under any other "government," as he had received from him, he ſeemed to expreſs a conſciouſneſs, that another government than the King's was in proſpect. 1688.

Inſurrections.

James continued at Saliſbury ſix days: In this interval, he was diſtracted almoſt every hour with the news of misfortunes following one upon another: He heard, that in the weſt Lord Delamere had raiſed the people of Cheſhire: That, in the middle of England, Lord Devonſhire, in Derbyſhire, and Nottinghamſhire, had acted the ſame part: That in the north, Lord Danby, who had obtained a commiſſion to raiſe forces for his ſervice, had ſeized York, and gained over its garriſon: That in the ſouth, Lord Bath had brought the garriſon of Plymouth to declare for the Prince; and that the whole gentry of Dorſetſhire had eſpouſed the ſame ſide:

* Granger's Biog. Hiſt. v. 2. p. 507.

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

And that Captain Churchill, brother to Lord Churchill, had joined the Dutch fleet with his ſhip. He was the firſt ſea-officer who deſerted. The declaration of Nottinghamſhire contained the following ſevere words to a royal ear: "That they did indeed own it to be rebellion, to reſiſt a King governing by law, but not to reſiſt a tyrant who made his will the law." Hurt in friendſhip, and in the relations of nature, ſhocked with ingratitude, knowing not whom * to truſt, ſuſpecting now one and now another, and moſt with good reaſon, and dreading to be delivered up by thoſe troops whom he had aſſembled to defend him, James retreated with part of his army to London, upon hearing that the Prince was advancing to Sherborne againſt him. He ordered the reſt of the army to follow him. Moſt of the private men ſhed tears when they heard of his retreat.

Defection in the royal family.

The night before he retired, Prince George of Denmark, and the young Duke of Ormond, whom James had a ſhort time before honoured with the garter, ſupped with him; he, with a deſponding mind, they with anxious thoughts from the defection they meditated. Next morning, he was waked with the information that they had gone over, together with Lord Drumlanrig, in the night, to the Prince of Orange. Prince George left a letter to James, expreſſed in terms which, in excuſing himſelf, threw blame on the unhappy perſon to whom it was directed. Prince George had been accuſtomed, when he heard of the deſertion of any of thoſe who had been much obliged to the King, to ſay, "Eſt il poſſible?" The only remark which James made upon the Prince's flight was, "Is Eſt il poſſible gone too?" But, when he learned upon entering his capital, that the Princeſs Anne had the evening before, under pretence of avoiding his diſpleaſure, fled from the palace with the Biſhop of

* Duke of Buckingham's works.

London,

London, Lord Dorſet, and Lady Churchill, he burſt into tears, and in a tranſport of nature cried out, "God help me, my own children have forſaken me!" The Princeſs went not to Dorſetſhire to her huſband, who was with the Prince of Orange, but to Northampton; either to avoid the appearance of joining the Prince of Orange againſt her father, or to give occaſion for an inſurrection, under the pretence of protection to her perſon. Inſtantly a ſmall army of volunteers formed around her as a guard, which was commanded by the Biſhop of London, who in his youth had been a cornet of dragoons, and who now rode before her with a drawn ſword in his hand, and piſtols on his ſaddle.

Conſternation in London.

A few days before James retired from Saliſbury, there had been an engagement between two parties of the different armies at Wincanton, in which the King's party had been defeated. When the report of this defeat, exaggerated, as is common on ſuch occaſions, far above the reality, and that the King's army was retreating towards the capital, and the Prince's army purſuing it, arrived in London, many of the great * haſtened to burn their papers; ſome leſt they ſhould be puniſhed for their connections with the Prince of Orange, and others leſt they ſhould be called to account for having had a ſhare in the King's meaſures. All the people of condition who were in town flocked to the palace to learn news, filling † every gallery and antichamber. Conſternation appeared in the countenances of all, increaſed by mutual miſtruſt, leſt they ſhould ſeem to rejoice or grieve too much in the news which were related. In vain did thoſe about court endeavour to conceal their uneaſineſs under a falſe cheerfulneſs, and falſe

* Clarendon's Diary, Nov. 26. Lord Caſtlemain's Trial. Duke of Buckingham, vol. 2. p. 76.

† Clarendon, Nov. 25.

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

intelligence: Theſe very endeavours, by betraying their affectation, added to that conſternation which they were intended to remove. The ſucceſſion of companies made what was bad worſe: For preſſing forward, and not getting admittance, they read events in the contagious looks of each other, and then retired to ſcatter the objects of their own imagination through the capital. The citizens were inſtantly in an uproar; believing, that the fate of the kingdom was to be decided between the two armies within the walls of the city. The women from their ſex, the artizans from their habits, in a city long unacquainted with arms, trembled at the thoughts of danger. The reſt, accuſtomed to the idleneſs and delicacies of the metropolis, and by talking of war to form the more frightful ideas of it, were equally timid with the women and artizans. Even the friends of the Prince of Orange, though conſcious of his virtue, felt uneaſineſs when they reflected, that there was an army of foreigners in the heart of the kingdom, and that it depended upon it and upon him how to treat them. Such a conſternation, ſtruck by the approach of 15,000 men, to a city inhabited by above half a million, pointed out to the obſerving, how weak wealth is againſt arms, and that the people who cannot defend themſelves with their own hands, muſt for ever fall an eaſy prey to invaſion from without, or to tyranny within.

James aſſembles peers. Counſels which they give him.

As ſoon as James entered the city, he ſummoned an aſſembly of the peers to aſk their advice, and to make an apology to them for not having called a parliament. In paſſing to this council, he met with a ſhock perhaps as ſevere as any he had felt: Meeting the father of the unfortunate Lord Ruſſel, the old Earl of Bedford, who had offered £100,000 for his ſon's life, but which the King, when Duke of York, had prevailed with his brother to refuſe; he ſaid to the Earl, "My Lord, you

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"are a good man; you have much intereſt with the "peers; you can do me ſervice with them to-day." "I once had a ſon," anſwered the Earl, ſighing, "who "could have ſerved your Majeſty upon this occaſion." James was ſtruck motionleſs. Lord Clarendon gave his thoughts on the ſtate of affairs, in a manner indecent to his ſovereign, ungenerous to one in diſtreſs, inhuman to a relation. The nobles were affected with the ſight of Majeſty in its fall, diſcovered their diſapprobation of Clarendon in their looks and murmurs, and treated James with the reſpect due to one who was ſtill their Sovereign. The advices they gave him were, "To "iſſue a pardon to the Prince's adherents, to remove "papiſts from offices, to aſſemble a parliament, and to "ſend a deputation for a treaty to the Prince." Advices from this aſſembly to one in the ſituation of James, were equal to commands: He readily complied. There is a meanneſs in granting to force, what has been refuſed to wiſdom and juſtice, which robs the unhappy even of pity. The ſpectators thought, at this conference, that the King was altered, and that the powers of his mind had forſaken him: They aſked, "Where were the looks, "and where the ſpirit, which had cauſed three king-"doms to tremble?" They perceived not that the change was not in the King, but in themſelves.

Tranquillity reſtored.

As ſoon as it was known that James was to call a parliament, and to enter into a treaty with the Prince, the city reſumed her ordinary tranquillity; and multitudes of all parties flocked* from London to pay their compliments to the Prince, as in time of a profound peace. The fleet, which had hitherto been detained by croſs winds, and the diſſenſion among its commanders, hearing this ſtate of things, fixed its ſtation at Spithead,

* Clarendon's Diary.

where

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

where all the admirals and captains wrote a joint letter of thanks to the King for calling a parliament; an event which put an end to all the anxieties of the Prince of Orange and of the Dutch.

Prince's behaviour in his march.

The Lords Nottingham, Halifax, and Godolphin, were the deputies appointed by James to wait upon the Prince of Orange. The Prince, by framing delays in the paſſports, and then appointing the deputies to ſtop on the road till he came up, avoided for ten days a perſonal interview with them; and, in the mean time, increaſed his party, refreſhed and ſtrengthened his army, and advanced forward with a ſlow pace, that the minds of men might be awed even by the prolongation of his march, and the pain of expectation. He received the viſits of the great with every attention they could deſire. As he marched along, he bowed to the populace with his hat off, and called to them, "That he came to reſcue their religion and liberty." Yet all the while he kept men in a ſtate of uncertainty as to his deſigns: For, while many of an inferior rank, who were believed to know his ſentiments, gave out, that he intended to aſſume the crown, he himſelf, and Bentinck his favourite, repeatedly averred, that he had no ſuch intention *.

Treaty.

The deputies, having got admittance at laſt at Hungerford, delivered the Prince a letter of credentials from the King, and propoſed that terms ſhould be adjuſted for the freedom of elections and of the ſitting of parliament, and that both armies ſhould be removed to a proper diſtance from London. James's letter, being merely official, had been written in French, the language commonly uſed to foreign Princes, and not with his own hand. The Prince, on reading it, ſaid with an air of concern †, "It "was the firſt letter he had ever received from the King "in a foreign language, or written by the hand of ano-

* Clarendon's Diary. † Ibid.

"ther:"

"ther:" A reference to the tender relation in which he ſtood to James, which he made either from ſenſibility, or from a deſign to preſerve the ambiguity of his intentions. The Prince deſired the commiſſioners to put their propoſals into writing. After which, in order to mark that the meaſures to be taken, were thoſe of the Engliſh themſelves, and not his own, he deſired all the Engliſh nobility and gentry who were with him to aſſemble and prepare an anſwer to the propoſals of the commiſſioners: And then, under pretence of other buſineſs, but in reality to avoid the imputation of directing their reſolutions, he retired to the country. In the anſwer framed by this aſſembly, one article inſiſted upon was, that the writs for aſſembling a new parliament ſhould be ſuperſeded; an article carried through by many of thoſe who had come over with the Prince, or were obliged to attend him; and who, foreſeeing that they could not attend their elections, and conſequently that they could not expect to be returned in the preſent ſtate of things, dreaded the loſs of their own importance in the aſſembling of a new parliament. When the anſwer was carried to the Prince, he ſtruck out this article, and deſired the aſſembly to reconſider it. They returned the anſwer with the article replaced: The Prince ſtruck it out a ſecond time. They deſired him to hear the point debated before him: He conſented; but adhered to his firſt opinion. A conduct, wiſe, generous, firm. Yet one precautious expreſſion dropped from him. In the heat of the altercation, he ſaid to Sir Harry Capel, "By your favour, Sir Harry, we may drive away the "King; but, perhaps, we may not know ſo eaſily "how to come by a parliament." He made another alteration upon the anſwer. It had been made to run in his name; but he ordered it to run in the names of thoſe who had framed it, together with his own *.

* Clarendon's Diary.

This

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

This answer contained the following, among other demands: "That papists should be disarmed, and removed "from employments, the tower of London and Tilbury "fort put into the hands of the city, and Portsmouth "into those of persons chosen by both Princes; that no "more foreign forces should be brought into the king-"dom; that a revenue should be assigned for the mainte-"nance of the Prince's army; and that, if the King "chose to reside at London during the sitting of parlia-"ment, the Prince might reside there likewise, attended "with an equal number of guards." James perceived, that these conditions stripped him of the friends whom he most trusted, prevented him from receiving foreign aid, disabled him from future defence, by taking from him the possession of almost the only forts he had left, made provision for the continuance of a foreign force in his kingdom, and introduced an equal to cope with him in his capital: They therefore gave him but a melancholy view of his present and future condition. Yet, when he first heard of them, he affected to be satisfied; and the consciousness that this affectation was become necessary, added to his uneasiness.

False manifesto published in the Prince's army.

At this time an accident passed that could have happened only in times of great confusion, and which filled him with fears. There was one Speke in the Prince's army, a man of a bustling, daring spirit, irritated by revenge for the death of a brother, who had been condemned by Jeffreys for Monmouth's rebellion. This man counterfeited and published a declaration * in the Prince's name: The declaration ordered military execution against all papists in arms or in office, or who should *assist* or *obey* them; which exposed to the sword a great part of James's servants: And it was full of the grossest indecencies to the Kings of France and of England. Such a declaration,

* Speke's account.

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publiſhed in the middle of a treaty, perſuaded James, who was ignorant of the impoſture, that the Prince was reſolved to obſerve ceremony no longer, filled all around him with terror for their own lives, and made his enemies imitate, in their ſpeeches and actions, that boldneſs which their credulity imputed to the Prince. Amongſt the foremoſt to fly was Lord Sunderland, who had been lately removed from his offices, pretending danger from the Prince, but in reality in fear of it from the King. He took refuge in Holland.

Continuance of inſurrections in the counties.

At the ſame time, James received repeated intelligence, from all quarters of the kingdom, of the defections of thoſe whom he had accounted his friends, and of the ſucceſſes of thoſe whom he knew to be his enemies. He heard that the Duke of Norfolk, exerciſing the power of Lord Lieutenant which had been committed to him for the royal ſervice, had ſummoned the freeholders of Norfolk to the town of Norwich, in favour of the Prince; that Lord Shrewſbury had taken poſſeſſion of the city of Briſtol; and that the gentlemen of Herefordſhire had declared for the Prince. He heard that, even in the ſeat of loyalty at Oxford, the Duke of Ormond had read the Prince's declaration to the univerſity, which had received it with univerſal applauſe, and offered its plate in a ſolemn deputation to the Prince: That, in the north, where his intereſt had hitherto kept ſome ground, all was loſt; for that Hull, one of the keys of the kingdom, was ſeized by Copely its deputy-governor, and Newcaſtle and Berwick had ſubmitted: That defection had ſeized even Scotland, where he thought himſelf abſolute; for that the covenanters and preſbyterians, countenanced by the Marquis of Athole, preſident of the council, the ſecond perſon of the kingdom in office, and who wiſhed to be the firſt, and inſtigated by Sir John Dalrymple and Lord Tarbet, two of the privy council, had frightened Lord Chancellor Perth from Edinburgh, and afterwards committed him to cuſ-

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

cuſtody *, had deſtroyed the popiſh chapel in the royal palace, and the ſeminary of the Jeſuits; and that the privy council had diſbanded the militia, and addreſſed the Prince in terms leſs flattering, and therefore probably more ſincere than thoſe which they had uſed to himſelf †: Finally, news arrived, that his forces had retreated from Reading, and then from Maidenhead, upon the approach of the Prince; that a battalion of Douglas's Scotch regiment, influenced by General Douglas, had declared for his enemies; and that the Prince and his army had advanced to Maidenhead, and were ſtill marching forward.

Different advices he gets in the court.

While James was thus diſtracted with a ſucceſſion of misfortunes, all the precincts of the palace, and the circumjacent ſtreets, were crowded with the populace; ſome expreſſing their ſentiments by ſighs and tears for the King, others by clamours againſt him, all venting execrations on his prieſts: He, in the mean time, continued locked up in the palace, ſtripped of the powers of his mind, by the noiſe of tumult, by the reports which were continually brought him, and ſtill more by the intervals of anxiety between the arrival of one meſſenger and that of another. All preſſed upon him with their advices, according to their different affections and intereſts, the ſoldiers to fight, the prieſts to fly, becauſe they were all flying themſelves, the peers and others of property to perſiſt in treating with the Prince: Of thoſe who adviſed him againſt war, ſome begged him to ſpare himſelf; others, with leſs ceremony, to ſpare his people; and many, without proffering any thing of their own, were employed in objecting to the counſels

* The Chancellor was committed to Stirling caſtle, of which the Earl of Mar was governor. When the Prince arrived in London, Lord Mar aſked him in what way he ſhould keep his priſoner. The Prince anſwered with his uſual brevity and pith, "Cloſe as a Mouſe." Mr. Baron Maull gave me this anecdote, which he heard from his father, who went with Lord Mar, to know the Prince's pleaſure about the Chancellor.

† Lord Balcarras.

which

which had been given by others, becauſe they had not been ſuggeſted by themſelves. 1688.

In this ſituation, Barillon the French ambaſſador, who ſaw that, if the parliament was allowed to ſettle the nation, there would be no pretence for France to meddle any longer in the troubles of England; and who knew of what conſequence it was to his maſter, that a Prince, who had pretenſions to the Britiſh crowns, ſhould take refuge in France, urged James to retire into that kingdom, with the proſpect of returning ſpeedily, ſupported by greater ſuccours than thoſe he had refuſed. The Roman catholics*, who knew that they muſt fall the firſt victims to a pacification, but that they could not fail to meet with reſpect and pity among foreign nations, while they attended the perſon of a King ſuffering for religion, and whoſe ſufferings they ſhared, adviſed him to the ſame meaſure. The argument they made uſe of was, That, as his departure would throw looſe all the dependencies of government, it would reduce all things to a ſtate of nature, and render the re-eſtabliſhment of the nation impracticable: An argument which weighed much with James, who did not reflect, that convulſions had proved the ſources of liberty to the Engliſh ever ſince the invaſion of the Saxons.

The Queen who, according to the cuſtom of women, was as much ſunk by adverſity as ſhe had been elated by proſperity, and who had been reminded of the impeachment of the King's mother, and of the intention to impeach his brother's conſort, adjured him, by the tender names of huſband and father, to take care of his life, her infant's, and her own, and to fly from a land fatal to his houſe, and to royalty. Honour and pride alone oppoſed in the mind of James. In the end, he was prevailed upon to conſent to the departure of the

* Duke of Buckingham, vol. 2. p. 76.

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

Queen with the Prince, and to promiſe that he would ſpeedily follow her: But his avoiding to go with her, diſcovered that this promiſe was given only in order to alleviate the anxieties of a ſeparation.

The Queen flies with the Prince of Wales.

On the ſixth of December, in the evening, the Queen, with the nurſe carrying the Prince, then five months old, in her arms, and accompanied by the Count of Lauſune, ſo famous for his own misfortunes, and by a few attendants, went privately from Whitehall: She croſſed the Thames, in an open boat, in a dark night, in a heavy rain, in a high wind, whilſt the river was ſwollen, and at the coldeſt ſeaſon of the year. A common coach had been ordered to wait for her upon the oppoſite ſide; but, by ſome accident, it was delayed for an hour. During this time, ſhe took ſhelter under the walls of an old church at Lambeth; turning her eyes, ſtreaming with tears, ſometimes on the Prince, unconſcious of the miſeries which attend upon royalty, and who, upon that account, raiſed the greater compaſſion in her breaſt, and ſometimes to the innumerable lights of the city, amidſt the glimmerings of which, ſhe in vain explored the palace in which her huſband was left, and ſtarted at every ſound ſhe heard from thence. The coach carried her to Graveſend, where a veſſel was ready, and landed her at Calais.

Terrors of James.

When the Queen and the Prince were gone, the ſolitude of the palace conveyed ideas of horror to the King. In every perſon he met, he ſuſpected an enemy or a betrayer; and from every look he gathered reaſons for confirming the ſuſpicions he had formed. Diſtance, or approach, were equally uneaſy to him; for he imputed the one to conſciouſneſs of guilt, and the other to a deſire of concealing it. A diſpatch which he received privately from Lord Halifax completed his panic: For Halifax, in order to make amends for his original want

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of merit when the Prince's expedition had been propoſed to him, now invented a fiction to impel James to leave the kingdom: He gave him intelligence, that his perſon was in danger from the Prince, and that he had only a ſhort time to ſave it*. James, upon this, prepared himſelf for flight. But, ſuitable to the ſtate he was in, and to the ſtep he was to take, his converſation was contradictory and ambiguous: He often repeated a ſaying of his father, "That ſmall was the diſtance between "the priſons of Princes and their graves†." To ſome he gave out, that he was to fight the Prince, and ordered the guards to be got ready. In the hearing of others, he ordered a council to be called next day. To Lord Mulgrave, who attended him as chamberlain, he ſaid in the evening, that his commiſſioners had ſent him good accounts of an accommodation with the Prince: Mulgrave ſaw through the affectation, ſhook his head, bowed, and dejectedly retired. He gave the diary, which, from his earlieſt youth, he had been accuſtomed to keep, to the ambaſſador of Savoy, to be ſent to Marſeilles. He gave ſecret warning to Father Petre, and Lord Mellfort, to avoid a danger which he knew their unpopularity would bring upon them: But he left Jeffreys to his fate; thinking it juſt that he ſhould ſhare thoſe miſeries of which he had in part been the inſtrument.

The King's flight.

On the 11th of December, at three o'clock in the morning, attended by Sir Edward Hales, and two ſervants, James withdrew by a private paſſage from Whitehall, and paſſed the river in a barge rowed by two watermen, after giving orders to the Duke of Northumberland, who was the Lord in waiting, not to mention, until the morning, what he had ſeen. Some time before, he had deſtroyed the writs for a new parliament,

* Sir John Reresby. † MS. Memoirs of the late Lord Balcarras.

and

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

and now threw the great ſeal into the river. The ſeal was afterwards found by a fiſherman, and brought to London; Heaven ſeeming by this accident to declare, that the laws, the conſtitution, and the ſovereignty of Britain were not to depend upon the frailty of man. His flight being unknown to all, the rooms of the palace were filled in the morning, as uſual, with company, to attend his levee. But, when the doors of his chamber were thrown open, and, inſtead of the King, the company ſaw the Duke of Northumberland come out alone, who informed them of his flight, and then, after this laſt piece of duty to his maſter and his uncle, went to the head of his troop of guards, and declared for the Prince of Orange, aſtoniſhment and confuſion ſeized the court, the city, the camp, and the country. Lord Feverſham increaſed the conſternation: For James having left him a letter, in which he ſaid, "He did not expect the "troops to expoſe themſelves at preſent," Feverſham diſbanded the army; many of the ſoldiers weeping, and others trembling with anger, whilſt they heard the order read.

State of the city.

As ſoon as the King's flight was known in the city, the populace roſe, deſtroyed the popiſh chapels, committed outrages on the prieſts, and rifled the houſes of ſeveral popiſh ambaſſadors; ſome actuated by zeal, others by the love of plunder, and many by mere wantonneſs. Jeffreys they ſeized in a ſeaman's habit at Wapping, endeavouring to find a ſhip for his eſcape. Treating him with that want of mercy which he had ſhewn to others, they carried him in his blue jacket, and with his hat flapped down upon his face, before the Lord Mayor, who, as ſoon as the hat was lifted up, and he beheld that countenance which uſed to ſtrike terror wherever it appeared, fell into a faint with the

the ſhock of the ſurpriſe *, and died next day. Jeffreys, having been with difficulty reſcued from the violence of thoſe who ſurrounded him, was committed to the Tower, more for protection than for puniſhment; where he died of a diſeaſe contracted by terror, and the hurts he had received in the tumult.

Freed from the reſtraints of government, and ſecure of impunity, it was feared the populace would have proceeded to greater exceſſes in a city containing above half a million of inhabitants, abounding in wealth, and unaccuſtomed to arms: But here they ſtopt, not from modeſty and virtue, incapable as they are at all times of either, but from a habit of reverence for laws, which they knew not why they revered. All men however believed, that this moment of ceſſation from diſorder would ſoon be interrupted by them or by others: And, in a ſituation where the King was fled, no parliament called, no authority of any kind in right to act, a foreign force in the kingdom, a people divided by factions, which many of the great were intereſted to increaſe, an army diſbanded without pay or proviſions, and a populace in arms and in clamour, thoſe of wiſe and ſober mind, expected evils to themſelves and to the nation, imminent and perhaps laſting.

Univerſal panic of an Iriſh maſſacre.

In order to increaſe theſe alarms, and to draw the attention of the nation to the Prince of Orange, who alone ſeemed to have the power of repreſſing diſorder, the ſame Speke, who had counterfeited a declaration by the Prince †, now invented a piece of news, that the Iriſh part of the diſbanded army had begun a maſſacre of the proteſtants. In times of terror, reports that are terrible eaſily find credit: None inquired into the truth of the maſſacre: All ſuppoſed it to be true: The panic

* North.

† Speke's Account.

ſpread

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

ſpread like lightning from one end of England to the other. In the city, the report was ſaid to have been brought from the country; in the country, it was ſaid to have come from the city: Some added circumſtances to what they had heard; and when theſe were related back to themſelves, or when they had often told them, they believed them to be true. The militia drums gave the alarm where it had not been already received; and the ringing of bells and burning of beacons confirmed it, where it had. During ſome days, all men ſtood to their arms, ſet watch in the night, and hung out lights, to deſcry the approach of the murderers. In London the ſhops were ſhut, and the doors of moſt houſes barricadoed. In the parts of the country where villages were near to each other, people imagined they heard at a diſtance the cries of the dying, and the lamentations for the dead. Where the ſituations were more diſtant, they expected in horror their own fates.

Council of peers.

In this ſtate of diſorder both in affairs and in the ſpirits of men, about thirty of the biſhops and peers, who happened to be in London, aſſumed the reins of government. They at firſt carried along with them the magiſtracy of London: But men taken from counters and warehouſes were found incapable even to concur with, much leſs to contrive or reſolve upon, the great meaſures of ſtate; and therefore their aſſiſtance was ſoon neglected to be aſked. The peers formed themſelves into a regular council, fixed a council-room, appointed their clerks, and times of meeting, choſe a ſpeaker, Lord Halifax, and exerciſed all powers of prerogative. To the magiſtrates of London, their late aſſociates in government, they gave commands, as to their ſervants, to raiſe the militia. They iſſued orders to the fleet, to the King's diſbanded army, and to all the conſiderable garriſons in England: They removed Skelton, whom James had appointed

governor of the Tower, confined him, and put Lord Lucas in his place, becauſe, every gun that was fired, ſtruck the citizens with a frenzy of terror, that Skelton was battering the city to pieces: And they publiſhed a declaration, in which they cenſured the King for his flight, and reſolved to apply to the Prince for protection from the dangers of popery and ſlavery. Their orders were every where obeyed: From the higheſt appearances of diſorder, all things in a few days ſubſided into compoſure and ſubordination.

Addreſſes to the Prince.

The Prince received intelligence of theſe things on his march to London, and ſtill marched on, without hurry in his army, or the appearance of being affected by what he heard, as if deſirous to ſhew, that he was invited to government, and did not haſten to ſeize it. One of each order of the peerage delivered to him, at Henley, the declaration of the peers: The firſt who had ſigned it was the Archbiſhop of Canterbury. The magiſtracy and lieutenancy of London even preſented him with an addreſs, in which they thanked him for their deliverance, begged his protection, and invited him to London. The principal officers of the army met at Whitehall, and ſent him an aſſurance, that they would give their aid in preſerving the peace of the city, till he himſelf ſhould undertake it. The Prince iſſued a declaration, which commanded the officers to aſſemble the regiments in proper places, and preſerve them in diſcipline and quietneſs. He was inſtantly obeyed, as if he had been already King of England, and the nation in peace.

James ſeized at Feverſham.

After the peers, the city, and the army, had diſcovered theſe marks of ſubmiſſion, news arrived which, it was feared, would have thrown all things again into confuſion. The ſuddenneſs with which James had taken his reſolution to fly, had prevented proper preparations from being made for his flight: A ſmall bark had indeed

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

deed been hired at Feverſham, to carry him to an advice-veſſel, which always lay ready off Margate: But the bark had not her ballaſt on board: While the ballaſt was getting ready, the King had by accident been diſcovered by ſome fiſhermen, who were lying in wait to ſeize the prieſts in their flight, or, as the cant of the time expreſſed it, "were a prieſt codding." One of the fiſhermen ſwore, "he was ſure the priſoner was a "prieſt by his lantern jaws;" another kneeled, wept, and craved his pardon. The council was ſitting when the news came to London. A countryman came to the door with a letter from the King: All knew the meſſenger was there, yet no one would own that he did; ſome dreading that the Prince might take their interpoſition amiſs; and others, uncertain of his character, left, from generoſity or policy, he might puniſh ungenerous inattentions. The man could not get admittance. Halifax was haſtening to break up the council: But the Earl of Mulgrave, with an honeſt indignation, inſiſted that they ſhould ſit ſtill, and introduced the meſſenger, who, with tears, delivered his letter. It was without ſuperſcription, and only ordered to be delivered to any who would bring aſſiſtance. It was to this purpoſe: "The "King acquaints the reader, that he has been diſcovered "in his retreat, by ſome fiſhermen of Kent, and ſe"cured at firſt there by the gentry, who were yet forced "afterwards to reſign him into the hands of an inſolent "rabble." Shame made the council ſhew that reſpect, which pity could not draw from them. They ordered Lord Feverſham, with 200 of the King's life-guards and his coaches to attend him, and to leave it to himſelf either to retire abroad, or return as he pleaſed. He choſe to return to London, either from the fear of being again ſtopped by the rabble, who were all in alarm on the coaſt, or from the lingering love of a country in which he had reigned,

reigned, and the hopes of an accommodation. In the mean time he diſpatched Lord Feverſham to the Prince, with a letter, in which he invited him to St. James's. 1688.

As it is natural for the human mind to forget paſt injuries, upon the ſight of preſent misfortunes, and in violent paſſions to run from one extreme to another *, the populace attended his entry into London with univerſal expreſſions of joy for his return: The women ſtanding ſtill, prayed for him, and wept, as he paſſed; the men followed his coach with ſhouts, till it ſtopped at Whitehall. But the pleaſure he received from this firſt welcome was ſhort-lived: When he ſummoned a council the night of his arrival, only a few counſellors attended it †. The ſame ſolitude appeared in his court; the ungenerous avoiding him, leſt they ſhould ſhare in his misfortunes, and the generous, to conceal their own depreſſion, or leſt they ſhould appear to obſerve his. The city did not ſend him a deputation as uſual with felicitations for his return. The populace retired to their houſes as ſoon as it grew dark. Every thing reminded him, that he was all alone in the midſt of a great people. Yet ſomething remained of the King: He complained, that the council had preſumed to exert acts of government, although himſelf had given it up. Dec. 16.

In the mean time, one of thoſe gentlemen who had aſſiſted in detaining James, had poſted to the Prince at Windſor, to inform him of what had happened. Being off his guard with the ſurpriſe, the Prince expreſſed his diſpleaſure with the officiouſneſs of thoſe who had prevented the King from going off, and ſent him a letter by Count Zuleſtein, not to come nearer London than Rocheſter; but which James did not receive until he Behaviour of the Prince upon this news.

* Duke of Buckingham, 88. Hiſt. defer. p. 92.

† Books of Privy Council, December 16.

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

was at London. The Prince alſo arreſted Lord Feverſham, as ſoon as he arrived with the King's letter, under pretence that he had come without a paſſport, but in reality either becauſe the Prince was* irritated by his having diſbanded the army, or in order to mark to James that he was to wave all ceremony for the future. But afterwards he put on a more guarded behaviour, reſolving, that ſeverities to the King ſhould proceed from his own ſubjects, and not from his ſon-in-law. With this view he called a general council at Sion-houſe, of all of rank among the Engliſh who were with him, laid James's letters before them, and aſked their advice; being confident, that men who had gone ſo great lengths in affronting the authority of their Prince, would not chuſe to reinſtate him in it. It was agreed at this council, that the King ſhould not be† permitted to reſide in any of the royal palaces, but ſhould be deſired to remove to Ham, a houſe belonging to the Dutcheſs of Lauderdale, and that the Prince ſhould not enter into treaty with one, who, by deſerting his government, had thrown the whole machine of the conſtitution looſe. Lord Clarendon, who, as often happens in differences between perſons nearly connected, had only wiſhed to humble, not to ruin the King, inſiſted that he ſhould have leave to go to one of his country-palaces; but was over-ruled by Halifax. After the reſolution was framed, Halifax propoſed it ſhould be carried to the King by one of the Prince's officers, and mentioned Count Solmes. "By "your favour," ſaid the Prince, "the reſolution is your "own, and one of yourſelves ſhall deliver it;" and then, before an anſwer could be given, he named the Lords Delamere and Shrewſbury, with Halifax himſelf. The two former, who were in arms againſt James, readily

* Clarendon, December.

† Ibid. December 17.

aſſented;

assented: And Halifax, being reduced to the awkward distress of either disobliging the Prince, or, though he was the King's commissioner, of desiring the King to go out of his own palace, chose the latter: A circumstance which, creating much laughter in some, and even in the Prince against Halifax, raised in others pity for the King. Whilst these things were in agitation, some counselled more violent measures: But Princes are capable of sympathy with those of their own rank: The Prince of Orange discouraged the suggestion, and despised its authors. 1688.

The Dutch enter London in the night.

As soon as the Prince received this resolution of his English council for his warrant, distrusting the returns of compassion, and that political inconstancy which all foreigners are apt to impute to the British nations, he, the same day, sent part of his army to London, lest the city should be frightened with the sight of the whole; and ordered the Dutch guards to take possession of all the posts about St. James's and Whitehall, continuing himself with the rest of his army at Sion, until he should hear the effects of the orders he had given. The Dutch troops coming to Kensington and Chelsea, as the sun went down, made a halt for some hours to refresh themselves, and then prepared to march on. The halt gave time for reports to spread in the city: The darkness kept the citizens in ignorance, that it was only a detachment which approached: And hence a panic struck the city, when it was believed, that an entire army of foreigners was to enter it at midnight. Count Solmes, hearing of the tumult, rode himself to London, and informed Lord Craven, who commanded the guards, of the true state of things, and of the orders with which he was charged; but arrived late, by the delays he had met with from the multitudes in his way. Tenderness of mind and courage go continually together. Craven was one of the very few

of

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

of the great, who had never quitted London during the plague, having made himſelf at that time the conſtant aſſociate of the great Duke of Albemarle in relieving the miſeries of human kind; and he now, at the age of ſeventy, refuſed to give way, drew up his men, and prepared to die at their head. The Dutch, in the mean time, hearing that they were to meet with oppoſition, marched through the park at eleven o'clock at night, with drums beating, match lighted, and in order of battle. While the minds of all were intent upon the event, James, who was informed of the danger, ſent orders for Craven to retire. The ſoldiers, when they firſt heard the order, murmured each to his neighbour, and then all aloud; and, when the order was repeated, often looking back, they ſlowly and indignantly retired.

The Prince's meſſage to James to quit Whitehall.

At one o'clock of the morning, and not ſooner, the Prince's commiſſioners, who had either been detained by the tumults in their approach to the town, or had created delays for themſelves, arrived with their meſſage from the Prince, for James to remove from his palace to Ham: This meſſage was the more mortifying, becauſe it was delivered by his own ſubjects, one of whom had been his miniſter, and was now his commiſſioner; and becauſe he was deſired to ſet out early in the morning, leſt he ſhould meet the Prince and his army on the road, who were to be in London the next afternoon. James was aſleep when they arrived, and received the meſſage in bed. He anſwered, he would comply; but called the commiſſioners back, when they were at the door, and told them, it would be more agreeable to him to make his reſidence at Rocheſter: A ſuggeſtion which occurred to him, partly from the dread natural to the mind of whatever is propoſed by the object of its fear, but chiefly with a view, that by the neighbourhood of Rocheſter to the ſea coaſt, he might the more eaſily find the means of eſcape:

eſcape: But the pretence he made uſe of was, that ſome of his own guards were in that town. Halifax begged the King to drop thoughts of Rocheſter; and, when the King objected, that there was no furniture for him at Ham, anſwered, with indifference, that it could eaſily be tranſported from one of the neighbouring royal houſes. Shrewſbury, from the gallantry natural to a ſoldier, in his look and voice, treated James with high reſpect. Delamere ſtood ſilent, pleaſed, yet penſive. But, as ſoon as the Prince heard of the ſtrange place of reſidence which James had choſen, perceiving his deſign, he gave orders that his deſire ſhould be complied with.

James goes to Rocheſter.

James, diſliking the river, deſired to paſs through the city, and to go by land: Halifax, unfeelingly, anſwered, "That his preſence in paſſing through the city would "create diſturbances, and move pity." By the careleſſneſs of his own ſervants, who now looked to new maſters, James continued in his barge an hour after he was ready, by which he miſſed the tide, and did not arrive at Graveſend till three hours after the ſun was ſet in the month of December. Only five perſons of diſtinction attended him: Lord Arran, ſon to the Duke of Hamilton, Lord Ayleſbury, Lord Litchfield, Lord Dunbarton, and Colonel Richard Hamilton an Iriſh officer. The Dutch guards, in open boats, rowed before and behind him: Objects which ſtruck him with terror, though perhaps it was not intended that they ſhould. In paſſing the Tower, he reflected on the inſtability of all human things; that Skelton whom he had lately committed priſoner there, who had in a few weeks after been appointed governor by him, was now priſoner again in the ſame place; that Lord Delamere, whom he had ſent twice priſoner to the Tower, and whoſe life he had brought into danger by trial, had carried him a meſſage to depart from his own palace; and that, from amongſt above

PART I. BOOK VI.

above twelve millions of ſubjects, he had only five friends to attend him.

1688. The Prince arrives in London.

The Prince arrived at St. James's, the evening of the day on which the King left it. The multitude was prepared to receive him with thoſe acclamations which are always paid to ſucceſs. Deſpiſing their levity, he went through the park to avoid them. But he received the congratulations of the biſhops, of the London clergy, of the diſſenters, of the city of London, and of the lawyers, with reſpect: A lively ſaying of Serjeant Maynard, then ninety years of age, who came at the head of the lawyers, is remembered: For the Prince having paid him this compliment on the vigour of his age, "That he had outlived "all the men of the law of his time:" Maynard anſwered, "I ſhould have outlived the law itſelf, if your High-"neſs had not come over." All ranks haſtened to pay their reſpects to the Prince. Lord Mulgrave was the foremoſt to preſs for admittance: Whilſt he waited at the door of the Prince's chamber, Bentinck obſerving him without his ſtaff of Lord Chamberlain, ſaid, "Comment, "mi Lord, vous aves quitté votre baton?"—"How, "my Lord, you have quitted your ſtaff?" Mulgrave anſwered, partly with good, and partly with bad humour, "Il eſt bien temps."—"It is full time*."

Proceedings of the peers.

Three days after, the Prince aſſembled the peers in the palace, to the number of about ſeventy, laid his declaration before them, deſired them to conſider the beſt means to attain its ends, and, without explaining himſelf any further, retired. They inſtantly returned him thanks for coming over, and moſt of them ſigned the Exeter aſſociation. But Lord Wharton of the Prince's party refuſed it, ſaying with a ſarcaſm which hit moſt of the aſſembly, he had ſigned ſo many aſſociations, that he looked upon them as trifles. In order to give the greater appearance

* Clarendon's Diary.

of ſolemnity and independence to their proceedings, they then adjourned to their own houſe at Weſtminſter, where they choſe Lord Halifax their preſes, and iſſued an order for all papiſts to remove from London: Steps which pointed out to the people, that they were to act by their own authority, though the King was in the kingdom. 1688.

James lingered five days in England, fearful to ſtay, and yet unwilling to go. During this period the biſhops, whom he had formerly perſecuted, ſuſpecting that he intended to go beyond ſeas, adviſed him to conceal himſelf in the city, and to wait events there. Whilſt Lord Balcarras and Lord Dundee were with * him, an Engliſh Lord came in and told him, there were ten thouſand diſbanded ſoldiers about London, who could be brought together in a few hours, to fall on the Dutch troops who were diſperſed in their quarters; and that he had a commiſſion from many officers offering him their ſervice for that end. "My Lord," anſwered the King, "You, I "know, have honour; but thoſe who ſend you have not." Yet, ignorant of the part which Lord Danby had ſecretly acted towards him, he offered to retire † into Yorkſhire, if that Lord would give him protection: An offer which Danby prevented his repeating, by putting him in mind of the faults he had committed. A letter from the Queen, inſiſting upon the honour of his promiſe to join her ſpeedily, at laſt determined his reſolution; in which he was confirmed by Lord Middleton, who, being of a cautious temper himſelf, inſpired timidity into his maſter. This letter had been intercepted, opened, and carried to the Prince, who was too well pleaſed with the contents, not to forward it to the King. Orders were given to make the guards, which were ſlight before, ſtill ſlighter. On

James flies to France.

* MS. Memoirs of the late Lord Balcarras. They do not mention the peer's name. His Lordſhip had the anecdote from his father.

† Reresby, 325.

PART I. BOOK VI. 1688.

the 23d of December, in the night, attended by the Duke of Berwick, and two other perſons, James went on horſeback to a ſmall veſſel which was prepared for him, and which carried him to Ambleteuſe in France, leaving a terrible example to all Britiſh Kings, not to invade the liberties or religion of Britain.

He left on his table at Rocheſter a paper, in which ſtrokes of a high indignant ſpirit, mixed with zeal for his own religion, appeared. When this paper was publiſhed, the adherents and the enemies of the King remarked, the former with reverence, the latter with contempt, that thoſe projects about religion, which had loſt him his kingdom, occupied his laſt thoughts when he left it.

Lewis XIV. received him with the higheſt marks of conſideration and honour; either from policy, or ſincere regard; perhaps from both. But the greatneſs ſhewn in this generoſity made the Prince, who ſtood in need of it, appear in a light ſo much the more humbling.

APPENDIX

TO

BOOK VI.

Letters and memoirs relative to the intrigues of the fleet at the Revolution; and relating to the conduct of the King and Prince of Orange, after the Prince landed.

Lord Hardwicke was ſo obliging as to give me the uſe of manuſcript memoirs in his poſſeſſion, of Byng Lord Torrington, which throw conſiderable light upon a part of the ſtory of the Revolution, hitherto very little underſtood.

In this manuſcript there are the following paſſages:

Extract from the MS. Memoirs of Byng Lord Torrington. —The intrigues of the fleet with the Prince of Orange.

Extract firſt.

" Lord Dartmouth remained three weeks with the fleet at the Nore, and then judging it moſt proper to lie off the Gunfleet, he therefore ſailed with it there. Here my Lord called a council of war, when it was propoſed, and much inſiſted on by ſome, that the fleet ſhould go over to the coaſt of Holland, and there wait the motions of the Dutch. But this propoſition had no effect; for the greater number of Captains were ſteady in their principles for the King, yet the chiefeſt and moſt conſiderable of them were otherwiſe inclined, and were in frequent meetings and cabals at this time. By their

management they brought over a majority of the council to think it was hazarding the fleet, to lie on that dangerous coaſt at this time of the year, and therefore much better to remain where they were, ſending ſome frigates over to obſerve the Dutch fleet. So that to this opinion the council adhered, and the fleet only removed without the Ship Waſh, Lord Dartmouth ſending three frigates to obſerve them. This was a point artfully gained by thoſe that were induſtrious to poſſeſs the fleet in favour of the Prince of Orange, and in ridiculing all the meaſures taken to prevent his deſigns. The Captains they were moſt deſirous of bringing over to their party were, Aſhby and Woolfred Cornwall, both of them zealous for the King, and had great credit in the fleet: It was therefore agreed, that Mr. Byng ſhould break it to them, for Aſhby being his Captain, he had a particular regard for him, and Cornwall was his moſt intimate friend. Mr. Byng himſelf had been early entruſted with what was then doing; for at a meeting in London, where the Duke of Ormond, General Kirk, Captain Aylmer, and others, were conſulting of the deſigns then on foot, and upon mentioning who of the fleet could be truſted, Kirk had recommended Mr. Byng as a perſon he would anſwer for, and Captain Aylmer was to acquaint him with it, which he did, as they went down to the fleet, in the beginning of October, truſting himſelf with him upon General Kirk's aſſurances of his faithfulneſs to them. Mr. Byng replied, that Mr. Kirk ſhould loſe no honour by what he had ſaid, aſſured him he would not betray him, deſired to conſider about joining with them, and finding by further diſcourſe, that General Kirk, Mr. Ruſſel, and other particular perſons, were going over to the Prince of Orange, he then became willing to agree with them in their undertakings, and from that time was entruſted by them. Aſhby was not ſoon prevailed on,

on, thinking that in their profeſſion they were not taught to turn againſt the King. But after ſome diſcourſe with Mr. Byng alone, and upon his telling him that he knew the diſpoſitions of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the fleet, and ſhewing the neceſſity there was to free themſelves from popiſh oppreſſion, he then yielded ſo far as to become a well-wiſher to the cauſe. Mr. Cornwall was more difficult to be perſuaded. In a diſcourſe he expreſſed the obligations of himſelf and family to the King, and thought it a villany in thoſe who attempted any thing againſt him; but when Mr. Byng named ſome perſons that were engaged in it, that were his moſt intimate and particular friends, he was ſurpriſed, and when convinced of it, he gave up his zeal for the King, and from that time no man was more heartily in the cauſe, uſing his endeavours to bring over ſeveral in his own ſhip, and continued heartily attached to the Revolution principles to the day of his death.

Nov. 3. While the fleet lay off the Ship Waſh by the Gunfleet, with the yards and topmaſts down in a hard gale at E. S. E. the Dutch fleet paſſed by them, making the beſt of their way to the weſtward, and though it was foggy weather, yet ſix of their ſhips were within ſight of the Engliſh fleet early that morning, upon which they got up their yards and topmaſts, and three ſhips ſlipped immediately, and plyed to diſcover them, and ſoon after made the ſignal of ſeeing the enemy's fleet; but Lord Dartmouth could not ſtir with his, not only from the lee tide, but the wind blew hard and contrary for him to purſue them, which kept him at an anchor all that day and night, while it favoured the Dutch fleet, carrying them into Torbay.

The next day the Lord Dartmouth ſailed with the Engliſh fleet, ſtanding after that of the Dutch. It was well known that my Lord was to follow them, ſo there

was

was a meeting of ſuch Captains as were inclined to the Prince, to conſult what meaſures they ſhould take upon coming up with the enemy. Some of them were of opinion, that if my Lord attacked them, that in honour they ſhould do their duty againſt them; but the opinion to which they agreed, was, upon ſuch an occaſion, to leave him."

Extract ſecond.

"The fleet had remained nine days in the Downs, when Lord Dartmouth ſailed again to the weſtward with thirty men of war and eighteen fire ſhips; but when he came off of Portland, they met with ſuch bad weather as ſeparated and forced them back into St. Helens and Spithead, which was, perhaps, from want of ſkill, for it is thought they might have ſtretched over, and got to windward, as did the Defiance, within ſight of Alderney. Captain Aſhby finding himſelf on the French coaſt, he was inclined to carry over his ſhip to the Prince. He was ſtanding on our coaſt to look for the Dutch fleet, when meeting with Sir Roger Strickland, he could not avoid going with him into Spithead. When the fleet was here, and at the time the Prince of Orange was on his march from Exeter, thoſe of the fleet who were well inclined to him, thought it time to ſhew themſelves, and even ſome that were timorous and ſilent hitherto, at a meeting they had, they determined to ſend him a meſſage, and to aſſure his Highneſs of their aſſiſtance and readineſs to obey his orders. This was to be done in ſecrecy, and by word of mouth, and Mr. Byng was to undertake to execute this meſſage, and to that purpoſe firſt addreſſed himſelf to Mr. Ruſſel, who came with the Prince from Holland. Accordingly Mr. Byng obtained leave of Lord Dartmouth to be abſent, on pretence of going into Huntingdonſhire upon affairs that very much concerned him."

Extract third.

" The Prince of Orange had paſſed Exeter, in his way to Saliſbury, and was at the Earl of Briſtol's houſe, at Sherborne, when Mr. Byng came to him. The firſt perſon he met with that knew him, was my Lord Churchill, who was that day come with the Prince of Denmark, and from the ſtairs head aſked him, what he did there? Mr. Byng deſired he would aſk no queſtions, but carry him to a private room, where he might ſee Mr. Ruſſel; who coming to him, he acquainted him with his meſſage, and was then by him conducted to the Prince of Orange, all the company then retiring except Mr. Ruſſel, and he then delivered to his Highneſs the meſſage from the officers of the fleet, naming thoſe who had engaged themſelves to aſſiſt him. The Prince expreſſed great ſatisfaction at ſuch welcome aſſurances, received Mr. Byng with courteſy, and promiſed him, if he ſucceeded, he would take care particularly to remember him. He ſent him back with an anſwer to the officers of the fleet, and with a letter to Lord Dartmouth, to acquaint him of the neceſſity of his coming over, and of his intentions to continue him at the head of the fleet, with promiſes that Admiral Herbert (between whom there was ſome variance) ſhould not be advanced over him. This letter the Prince adviſed Mr. Byng to put into the ſtuffing of his ſaddle, leſt, in caſe he was ſeized, it ſhould be found upon him; but he thought it beſt to quilt it in the rowlers of his breeches; ſo Mr. Byng, taking his leave, returned ſafely to the fleet again. There was ſome difficulty how to give this letter to Lord Dartmouth, whoſe zeal to the King was well known; and therefore Mr. Aylmer undertook it, and one morning took an opportunity privately to lay it upon his toilette. This letter had ſome effect on him, for

for from that time he ſeemed inclinable to the Prince's party, though his real thoughts could no ways agree with the meaſures then taken; yet he was terrified at the diſpoſition of the nation, and of the fleet, that he thought it to no purpoſe to oppoſe them, and knew not what might be the conſequences to himſelf, ſince the Prince of Orange advanced with ſuch ſucceſs, and all the people were daily riſing againſt the King. He was the more cautious in his behaviour from a deſign that was diſcovered to ſeize him on board the commanded by Captain Haſtings, who had invited him to dinner for that purpoſe, in which caſe they intended to give the command of the fleet to the Duke of Grafton. But Captain Davy Floid, who had found himſelf neglected by his old friends, and from the favour he was in with the King's party, having knowledge of it, diſcovered their deſign to Lord Dartmouth, by which means he avoided their putting it in execution by excuſing himſelf from going. He continued in great doubt how to behave with regard to the Prince's party in the fleet, and to act according to his principles, and conſiſtent with his duty to the King, ſeeing himſelf in the power of thoſe of the other party, and not able to refuſe his aſſiſtance in an attempt of the moſt dangerous conſequence; for the young Prince of Wales had been brought down to Portſmouth, to go in a yacht to France with Sir Roger Strictland, which being known to ſeveral Captains of the fleet, they were reſolved to ſeize him, and repreſenting to Lord Dartmouth the conſequence it might be to himſelf to ſuffer his eſcape when the nation was in confuſion, and the government unſettled, they obliged him to give orders to Captains Aylmer, Haſtings and Shovel, to intercept the yachts as they ſhould come out of Portſmouth, in caſe he ſhould eſcape Captain Cornwal and Mr. Byng, who were appointed to go with armed boat

boats to wait his coming off, to lay that yacht on board where the Prince of Wales ſhould be; and in caſe of reſiſtance, theſe three ſhips were ready to take him in caſe he eſcaped from them. Upon this deſign Captain Cornwall and Mr. Byng were employed, taking it by turns each night to remain in the armed boat, while the other remained in the town, to get intelligence of the time of his going off, appointing a place to confer at upon occaſion over the town wall. At the time Captain Cornwall was in town, he obſerved a great hurry in Mr. Ridge's houſe, where the Prince was lodged, and who was then on the ſtairs going to embark, where he found the Duke of Powis's (Governor of the town) coach and ſix horſes at the door, and approaching them in the dark, felt their legs, which he found dry, which made him conclude it was not a coach come in, but going out of town. He was ſurpriſed at this, and found an end of their enterprize, the Prince of Wales going in the Duke's coach to London. They were nigh ſucceeding, ſince all the baggage and neceſſaries for the child were then on board, and he certainly upon the point of going off. This was a great diſappointment to thoſe who had projected the deſign; yet they afterwards thought their zeal had carried them beyond their policy, and that they were fortunate by their ill ſucceſs in ſuch an attempt; ſince their being poſſeſſed of the Prince's perſon muſt have perplexed the affairs then in hand. It was thought this diſcovery was made by Lord Dartmouth, who could neither avoid giving the orders he did, nor ſuffer them to be put in execution, and that by giving notice of it to the King, the Prince might eſcape.

The Prince of Orange making great progreſs in his march to London, and all the country joining with him, the King abandoned by thoſe he moſt confided in, and the Queen ſent with the young Prince away to

France, deſerted by his army, and ſeeming himſelf to have no remedy but in his flight, circumſtances that ſo terrified my Lord Dartmouth, that he wrote a letter to the Prince of Orange, offering the fleet to his Highneſs's ſervice, and ſent it by Captains Aylmer, Haſtings, and Byng."

The opportunity which the Duke of Grafton had of ſerving the Prince of Orange's intereſt in the fleet, is confirmed by a letter from Barillon to his court, of the 6th Nov. 1688, in which he ſays, that the Duke of Grafton had aſked leave to go down to the fleet as volunteer under Lord Dartmouth, and was gone there.

The Earl of Dartmouth was ſo obliging as to communicate to me the following letters, relative to his anceſtor's conduct in the command of the fleet at the Revolution, and the part which he acted with regard to the tranſporting of the young Prince into France.

Letters which paſſed between King James and Lord Dartmouth, whilſt Lord Dartmouth lay with the fleet at the mouth of the Nore.

Extract of King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, Oct. 8, 1688.

" You will have an account from Mr. Pepys of what is done about the victuals, and what Sir R. Haddock and the reſt of them ſaid to me this evening; which if ſo, you may be ſoon ready to ſail with moſt of your ſhips, and though all that are in the Hope ſhould not be quite ready, conſider well whether you ſhould loſe the opportunity of this weſterly wind to get out from among the ſands, or venture to have the Dutch come and find you poſted ſomewhere near the buoy of the Ozeedge among

among the ſands, for you muſt expect they will come out, and be looking for you with the firſt eaſterly wind, &c."

Extract of Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Buoy of the Nore, October 12, 1688.

" I am infinitely ſenſible of the great truſt your Majeſty is pleaſed to put in my conduct of this fleet, which, to the beſt of my underſtanding, ſhall be faithfully performed for your ſervice. Your Majeſty cannot be more deſirous to have me from among the ſands, than I am impatiently endeavouring to get out. I judge it much more for your ſervice to unite while we have time, than to drop out in parcels with the hazard of being ſeparated, eſpecially knowing myſelf here in the beſt place to do my buſineſs while theſe winds continue; and be aſſured, Sir, I ſhall be at ſea upon the firſt alteration. And, Sir, though it is your Majeſty's great goodneſs to truſt ſo great a concern to me, yet I humbly beg leave to lay my thoughts before you, that your Majeſty may pleaſe to judge better, and to give me your commands, if you pleaſe to approve or diſapprove of my preſent intentions, which cannot be final till I am at ſea, and, with the humbleſt ſubmiſſion, may alter with the opportunities I may meet, being hard to take any reſult but as the place and occaſion may offer. None of the Portſmouth ſhips are yet come to me, therefore, at my firſt going out, I will look towards the Downs, and ſee what ſhips I can get from thence, and leave directions with thoſe ſhips that are to follow, to come thither firſt, where farther orders ſhall lye ready for them: With what I have with me I intend to keep the ſea as much as poſſibly I can, thinking that much ſafer for this ſquadron, than to venture being any where embayed, or truſting myſelf to be

ſet upon in any road, and if it ſhall be neceſſary for me to ride at any time in the Downs, I will always put to ſea upon any eaſterly winds. As ſoon as I get a reaſonable ſquadron together, I believe it for your Majeſty's honour and ſervice, if the weather be any thing reaſonable, to ſhew myſelf upon their coaſt, as near as I conveniently can in the day time, ſtill ſtanding off to get good ſea room every night, while I ſee it reaſonable to ſtay thereabout."

Extract from King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, October 14, 1688.

" I make no doubt but that God will protect me, and proſper my arms both by land and ſea. I need ſay no more to you, being ſure you will do what is beſt for my ſervice, which you that are on the place are the only judge of, and muſt govern yourſelf according to the enemies motions, and as wind and weather will permit."

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Oaz Edge, October 17, 1688.

" We are all now of opinion that upon the firſt ſlatch of wind and fair weather, we ſhould fall down to the Gunfleet, where though it be hard roading, yet the ground is good, and we ſhall be well formed: There we ſhall be ready to cover Harwich as well as the river Thames; be able to go to ſea, if occaſion be; or we can but come up again at worſt; we ſhall be ready to look towards the channel, have very good anchoring between the Kentiſh Knock and the North Sands-head, and the Downs always to friend upon bad weather. This, Sir, with the humbleſt ſubmiſſion to your Majeſty's better judgment, is the preſent meaſures I think of, till any thing better offers for your ſervice.—Upon the caution your

your Majeſty hath given me, I will not venture over on the coaſt of Holland, without I ſee ſettled fair weather, which is not impoſſible after ſo much bad."

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet, October 24, 1688.

" I thank God I am at laſt got hither, with your Majeſty's fleet ſafe, and in as good condition for the time as could be expected, whatever may be ſuggeſted to the contrary; and our coming out not ſooner hath been hitherto for the beſt, as I hope all things will do for your advantage. Sir, we are now at ſea before the Dutch after all their boaſting, and I muſt confeſs I cannot ſee much ſenſe in their attempt, with the hazard of ſuch a fleet and army, at the latter end of October, and if they can make uſe of this moon, it is as good for us as them."

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet, October 29, 1688.

" —I thank God your Majeſty's fleet is in very good condition, and (conſidering the whole matter your Majeſty hath been ſo graciouſly pleaſed to leave to me) I will endeavour to keep it ſo, &c."

Extract from Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Gunfleet, October 30, 1688.

" Since mine to your Majeſty yeſterday, the wind came up laſt night, between 9 and 10 o'clock to the N. and continued moſt of the night between the N. and N. N. E. About 4 o'clock I gave the ſignal for unmooring, and we are juſt now under ſail with the tide of ebb, and the wind at S. S. E. and hope to get clear of the Galloper before night. On Friday laſt the Prince of Orange and Herbert were both ſeen at Helvoetſluys, ſo that they could not be ſtirring, as the winds have been, till laſt night and this morning; no doubt,

doubt, they will get all to ſea this day, and I hope by to-morrow, to give your Majeſty a better account of them. I have my ſcouts out, and I believe it impoſſible for us to miſs ſuch a fleet. God proſper your Majeſty, and ſend you victory over your enemies; I am ſure I will endeavour heartily my part towards it."

Copy of Lord Dartmouth's letter to King James, dated Nov. 5, 1688.

"SINCE mine to your Majeſty on Tueſday laſt, by Mr. Bridges, I came that night to an anchor at ſix o'clock, the Nar bearing W. and Balzy Church N. W. and by N. with a very freſh gale of wind, at due E. Beſides the 3 cruizers I had out before, I ſent out the Suadado's to ply to the northward, upon the receipt of the abſtract from Marquis d'Albeville's letters. The Katherine yaucht I ordered to ply off to the Eaſtward, and the Kitchen to the Southward; the King-fiſher Ketch was likewiſe ſent to Oſtend, with letters from captain Rooth. But all this, as the wind ſtood, and as it blew ſo hard, availed me nothing; for on Thurſday our frigates that were ſent a-cruizing were drove back, and came to an anchor in our offing at a league and a half to the windward of us; one of them came in without a foretopmaſt, and another wanted his maintopmaſt. It blowed ſo very hard that we were forced to ſtrike all our yards and topmaſts, and rid with two cables and a half out, the wind fretting and never varying above one point either way. Juſt at break of day on Saturday morning, we ſaw 13 ſail about three leagues to windward of us; the 3 frigates that lay without us cut, but could fetch but one flyboat that had loſt her rudder; ſhe was taken by the Foreſight, and ſent into the Downs with the Swallow, who it ſeems ſprung a leak, ſo that I fear I ſhall have little good from her. Major Colondſby of colonel Babington's regiment

regiment with 290 men were in the fly-boat, and as I am told, the common men rejoiced when they were taken, but I do not find the officers ſo, though the Major pretends a great deal. I got all ready to ſail with the fleet on Saturday, but the ſea came in ſo heavy, and the tide fell ſo croſs, that we could not till yeſterday morning. We got under ſail at 8 o'clock, with the wind E. S. E. a top-ſail gale. About 10 captain Clements came in to us, with the Katherine yaucht, which was the firſt news we received of the Prince of Orange, for the Foreſight returned not to us till 2 this afternoon, to give an account of the fly-boat. We made all the ſail poſſible we could to the Northward, the weather came very fair, and the wind continued at E. S. E. a ſteady gale. By 8 at night we got about the Southſands-head; about 12 we got the length of the Neſs, and I hauled in with the ſhore, leſt they ſhould be in Rye Bay; but it pirred ſo little wind from 12 o'clock, that when the flood came in we could ſcarcely ſtem it, and got no further than Beachey by 9 this morning; but this ebb I hope we ſhall make better of it. Thus I have given your Majeſty a true account of all my proceedings, which are ſo far from the vain hopes I had, that I take myſelf for the moſt unfortunate man living, though I know your Majeſty is too juſt to expect more than wind and weather will permit.

Sir, finding that the Dutch ſailed by Dover on Saturday in the afternoon, and that they had a freſh gale all that night, and a fair wind all yeſterday, and ſuch weather for their purpoſe and ſo little for mine to-day, I am in great apprehenſions they will be landed before we fetch them; and if their fleet lie at St. Helens, whilſt the reſt land in Stokes Bay and Hampton water, their fleet being ſo much ſuperior, as I find they are, both in number and quality, I am at a ſtand what to do; for on calling the flag officers and commanders, they unanimouſly adviſe me againſt

againſt attacking the Dutch fleet, if all poſſibility of hindering their landing be over; though every body I aſſure you, Sir, I think are ſo exaſperated at the Prince of Orange's proceedings, that I am once more confident they will venture their lives very heartily in your Majeſty's ſervice. I conſider the ſucceſs of their landing, and beating your only fleet, together with the deſtruction, as I may ſay, of the flower of the Engliſh fleet, or ſo many of them at leaſt as are here at preſent. Sir, I confeſs the thoughts of this, with the conſequence it may have in London, and all over England, checks my inclination of ſetting upon them without your Majeſty's further orders; but I reſolve to endeavour to fall in with the Iſle of Wight at break of day to-morrow morning, and ſee what advantage it will pleaſe God to offer me, taking the caution not to ſhoot too far to the weſtward in the night, nor to engage your fleet unreaſonably, or at leaſt that I ſee ſome hopes of doing it.

Juſt as I was finiſhing this, Sir Roger Strickland, Sir Jo. Berry, and Captain Davis came all together to me, and earneſtly preſſed that I would not proceed to make the Dutch with the whole fleet, in conſideration that the ſquadron is at preſent ſo weak; ſhewing what are now wanting of what I ſhould have with me, which are the Swallow and Tyger in the Downs; the Dover, Bonadventure, and Suadado's not yet come to us from cruiſing with the Foreſight; ſince we came into the channel, the Speedwell and Sally Roſe fireſhips miſſing, as is all the ſmall craft, except one ketch and the two yachts, beſides the Yorke, Woolwich, St. Alban's, and Newcaſtle; ſo that at preſent we want twelve. They further urged, that they are doubtful that upon our appearance their whole fleet would come out to us, and either force us to a diſadvantageous battle, or a diſgraceful going from them; ſo that I have now reſolved with them to ply off and on, and

jogg on eaſily till the ſcouts I have now, upon their advice, ſent to the weſtward, bring me an account of the enemy, and that the ſhips a-ſtern (or rather left behind for the preſent) come up to me; and that I know your Majeſty's pleaſure what you would have me do; which I humbly deſire may be as ſoon as is convenient, for the caſe is much different now, and from what it would have been if we had been ſo happy to have met them before they were diſcharged of their great convoy. The places I am likely to come to anchor at, are the Neſs or the Downs, where I believe ſome of our ſhips may be that are miſſing. I underſtand the Prince of Orange changed his meaſures upon his laſt coming aboard, when he heard your Majeſty's fleet was at the Gunfleet; for before that he intended for the river. Pray God Almighty direct and protect your Majeſty; and notwithſtanding all this, I hope, by his bleſſing, yet to be able to render your Majeſty good ſervice from this ſquadron, as time and opportunity offers; for I am faithfully and heartily devoted to your Majeſty to my life's end."

Extract from King James's letter to Lord Dartmouth, dated Whitehall, November 9, 1688.

"I had laſt night your's by Captain Rooth, but had not then leiſure to anſwer it, and am fully ſatisfied you did all that you could, and that nobody could work otherwiſe than you did. I am ſure all knowing ſeamen muſt be of the ſame mind, and therefore be at eaſe as to yourſelf, and conſider of the beſt means of ſecuring the ſquadron you have with you, and of being in a condition of taking ſuch advantages upon the enemy which may offer themſelves to you," &c.

I found among Lord Preſton's diſpatches, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Graham, the following letter from Lord

Preſton to Lord Dartmouth, which ſhews both the ſentiments which the King entertained of Lord Dartmouth's not having betrayed the command with which he was truſted, and the averſion of theſe Lords to the popiſh counſels of their maſter.

Lord Preſton to Lord Dartmouth.—Complains of popiſh counſels.—The King pleaſed with Lord Dartmouth's conduct.

My Lord, London, Nov. 11th, 1688.

"I HAVE received your Lordſhip's very kind letter of the fifteenth inſtant, and was very glad to find by it that you were in good health, which I hope God will continue to you. I wiſh you all the ſucceſs that may be, in whatſoever you undertake, and I muſt aſſure you that notwithſtanding the malice of a party at court, which hath already almoſt wrought our deſtruction, your Lordſhip is extremely ſafe and happy in the King's juſtice to you; who knoweth, and hath declared publickly and privately, that it was impoſſible for you to take other meaſures than you did when the Dutch paſſed by you. He is this afternoon gone for Windſor, and hath taken the Prince with him in order to have him at Portſmouth.

The Queen ſtayeth here for ſome time.

God give him good ſucceſs, and grant him a ſafe return.—God of heaven ſend us a good meeting, and preſerve you. You may be aſſured that I ſhall be watchful over whatever concerns you. I ſhall ever remain, &c."

Letters between King James and the Earl of Dartmouth concerning the tranſporting the young Prince into France.

Andover, Nov. 25, 1688.

"I SEND this to you by the Lord Dover, whom I ſend to Portſmouth to command in chief there. I am going back to London myſelf, intending to be there to-morrow; and have ordered all my army to quarter along the river, beginning at Marlo. He will tell you how Lord Churchill and Duke of Grafton are gone over to the enemy with ſome others. I have charged Lord Dover alſo to ſpeak with you of my intentions concerning my ſon, and you muſt follow Lord Dover's directions as to what concerns our ſaid ſon, by being aſſiſting to him in what directions I have given him by word of mouth. I have not time to ſay more."

Whitehall, Nov. 29, 1688.

"THIS is the ſecond letter I write to you upon the ſubject of my ſon, though the other was from Andover, as I remember; it will not have been delivered to you ſooner than this; that was not given to you ſooner, hoping ſtill things would not have been ſo very bad as they are. 'Tis my ſon they aim at, and 'tis my ſon I muſt endeavour to preſerve, whatſoever becomes of me; therefore I conjure you to aſſiſt Lord Dover in getting him ſent away in the yachts, as ſoon as wind and weather will permit, for the firſt port they can get to in France, and that with as much ſecrecy as may be; and ſo that truſty men may be put in the yachts, that he may be expoſed to no other danger but that of the ſea; and know I ſhall look upon this as one of the greateſt pieces of ſervice you can do me."

"Nov. 30. Since the writing of what is before, I have altered my mind as to the delaying of it a little, as you

will see more at large by mine to Lord Dover, to which I refer you, and do again conjure you to use your utmost endeavours to have my son secured, as in the first part of this letter, and to have all things ready when 'tis proper for him to embark, as I have already said in mine to Lord Dover."

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1688.

"UPON the receiving of this you are immediately to put in execution the orders I have already given you and Lord Dover, for the sending away of my son, the Prince of Wales."

Whitehall, Dec. 1, 1688. 9 at night.

"MR. Pepys writes the news to you, so that this is only to tell you I had this morning yours of the 28th and 30th; and though, as you say in it, I have reason to mistrust mankind, yet I assure you, though all the rest of those about me should betray me, I could never suspect you, as you may have seen by some letters of mine, which I hope will have been given you before this gets to you. Let me know by this messenger, when he returns, when you received them; I shall be very impatient till I know you have had them, and put those orders in execution."

These four letters, together with another, dated Nov. 29, relating only to the disposition of the fleet, are together in one parcel, on the outside of which is the following endorsement, viz.

"These three letters received not till the 2d of December; two by the hands of Lord Dover, the other as indorsed in Mr. Pepys's pacquet: The other two being dated the 1st December, were brought to me soon one after the other, on the 3d in the morning. All these five letters were answered on that 3d of December, and

delivered to my Lord Dover, and by him ſent with a meſſenger on purpoſe. Reſolved, between us both, not to do any thing in carrying away the Prince of Wales till we have his Majeſty's further order, and an anſwer to my letter."

Lord Dartmouth to King James.—His reaſon for declining to carry the young Prince to France.

Spithead, December 3, 1688.

"YESTERDAY in the afternoon Lord Dover came aboard me, and brought me two letters from your Majeſty, one dated at Andover the 25th of November, the other at Whitehall of the 29th, with a poſtſcript of the 30th, on the ſubject of ſending away the Prince of Wales, wherein you were pleaſed to ſhew thoughts of delaying your intentions therein, and I muſt confeſs I was in hopes, if your Majeſty took the leaſt time to conſider, you would find ſo many undeniable reaſons to the contrary, as would ſoon oblige your Majeſty to alter your reſolutions, and therefore I forbore ſhewing my Lord Dover the ſurpriſe I was at firſt in; but by two letters dated from Whitehall yeſterday (which I received this day ſoon after another), with the greateſt dread and grief of heart imaginable, I underſtand your Majeſty perſiſts in your former intentions and conſultation held with my Lord Dover, in ſending away the Prince, and conjures me to be aſſiſting therein. I need not tell your Majeſty how ſtrict the laws are in this matter, nor after ſo many experiences of my duty, and loyalty to your perſon, lay before you freſh aſſurances of giving ready obedience to any commands within my power; but to be guilty of treaſon to your Majeſty and the known laws of the kingdom, of ſo high a nature as this, when your Majeſty ſhall further deliberate on it, I moſt humbly hope you will not exact it from me, nor longer

longer entertain ſo much as a thought of doing that, which will give your enemies an advantage, though never ſo falſely grounded, to diſtruſt your ſon's juſt right, which you have aſſerted and manifeſted to the world (in the matter of his being your real ſon born of the Queen) by the teſtimonies of ſo many apparent witneſſes. Pardon me therefore, Sir, if on my bended knees, I beg of you to apply yourſelf to other councels; for the doing this looks like nothing leſs than deſpair, to the degree of not only giving your enemies encouragement, but diſtruſt of your friends and people, who I do not deſpair but will yet ſtand by you, in the defence and right of your lawful ſucceſſor. Your Majeſty knows I have always profeſſed myſelf of the Church of England, and I humbly appeal to you if I ever gave you promiſes of being of any other; and therefore as ſuch, and a faithful ſervant, ſubject and counſellor, I beg leave to adviſe you, and give you my humble opinion, that ſending away the Prince of Wales, without the conſent of the nation, is at no time adviſable, and therefore the doing it at this time eſpecially, and that to France, being what I dread will be of fatal conſequence to your perſon, crown, and dignity, and all your people will (too probably) grow ſo much concerned at this your great miſtruſt, as to throw off their bounden allegeance to you, which God forbid; therefore pray, Sir, conſider farther on this weighty point: For can the Prince's being ſent to France, have other proſpect than the entailing a perpetual war upon your nation and poſterity; and giving France always a temptation to moleſt, invade, nay hazard the conqueſt of England, which I hope in God never to ſee, but that we may have this Prince of your own loins, to rule over us. The moſt I can apprehend your Majeſty may be jealous of, is his being brought up in the religion of the Church of England, and that ought (for his Royal Highneſs's

Highneſs's ſake eſpecially) to be the prayer of every honeſt loyal ſubject. Pardon me therefore, Sir, that I moſt earneſtly implore you, not to make me the unhappy inſtrument of ſo apparent ruin to your Majeſty and my country, as an act of this kind will be; and I hope your Majeſty will not ſuffer it to be done by any other, for I can foreſee nothing leſs from it, than the putting in hazard your own ſacred perſon and the Queen's, and making England the moſt miſerable nation in the world.

Remember I pray, Sir, how prophetically I have foretold you your misfortunes, and the courſes you might have taken to have avoided them, which I do not mention to reproach you, but to put you in mind of doing it now at laſt; and for heaven's ſake, Sir, as you have made a great ſtep towards reconciliation by publiſhing your Royal intentions of calling a parliament, treat (if your condition be no better) and that fairly; God in his infinite mercy will preſerve you, and your Royal Iſſue, and the Church of England will defend you in all your juſt rights, and remove the diſturbers of your peace, and ſettle you as great and firm on your throne, as any of your predeceſſors. Pardon me, Sir, for being thus free with you, for it proceeds from a ſincere heart, and concern for you and yours; and what has paſt between us on this unfortunate ſubject ſhall never be an injury to you, by being made known from me, and I know your goodneſs is too great to think ill of your conſtant faithful ſervant, or to impute to me any diſobedience; for what I have thus moſt humbly laid before your Majeſty, is really and honeſtly, from the utmoſt and extreme care and concern I have for yours, the Queen's and Prince's real preſervation; for as I will not be inſtrumental in, nor ſuffer him to be carried into France, if by any means I can prevent it, ſo on the other hand, I will frankly venture my life in your Majeſty's and his defence;

fence; and as the laſt expedient, I can at preſent propoſe nothing more eſſential to your Majeſty's great ſervice, than in delivering him ſafe into your own Royal cuſtody, and the ſooner your Majeſty gives me order for it, it will be the better. Sir, I am afraid if I go from hence, the Dutch fleet will ſoon be here, and I likewiſe fear the Prince of Orange's forces may cut between you and Portſmouth, therefore I deſire your Majeſty will give me order for bringing the Prince to you ſpeedily, and that you will pleaſe to recollect yourſelf, and apply reaſonable means to prevent what you ſeem to be under ſuch dreadful apprehenſions of. Your Majeſty may ſee in what confuſion I am, ſo that I can ſay no more, but my daily prayers to God Almighty, to direct and proſper you."

Lord Dartmouth to King James.—Upon his firſt flight.

Spithead, the 2d.

"IT is impoſſible for me to expreſs the grief and anxious cares I am in for your Majeſty, and the news of your withdrawing was the greateſt ſurprize of my life; for I did humbly hope, my dutiful ſupplications to your Majeſty would with your own conſiderate thoughts have wholly altered your intentions of ſending away the Prince of Wales, and did think it impoſſible ever to enter into any body's thought, that had the leaſt inclination of duty to your Majeſty, to give you ſo pernicious and deſtructive counſel as to go away yourſelf; and if your Majeſty had been drove to ſuch a deſperate courſe (which was morally impoſſible, at leaſt in my thoughts) as to abſent yourſelf, Sir, could you have been with more honour and ſafety, than in your own fleet, who would always unanimouſly (I dare ſay) have protected and defended your ſacred perſon, from any violence or unhallowed hands; but this looks like ſo

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great miſtruſt of me, that many can witneſs it hath almoſt broke my heart. Your Majeſty knows what condition you left the fleet in, and me in the utmoſt unſupportable calamity of my life; what could I do but ſend to the Prince of Orange, when I found the whole nation did, and received orders from the Lords, which were communicated to the fleet, and removed all Roman Catholic officers. I have had yet no return from the Prince of Orange, but I hope all will end in your Majeſty's happy re-eſtabliſhment. Mr. Pepys will acquaint your Majeſty with the ſtate of the fleet, and Mr. Vaudry, I hope, will do me juſtice of my care of the Duke of Berwick, garriſon and harbour of Portſmouth, with all the great ſhips; but withal, my confuſion is ſo great, that I am only able to beg God Almighty's protection of your Majeſty, and to deliver you out of all theſe troubles, which ſhall not only be the prayers, but hearty endeavours of a heart that never ſtudied any thing but your real ſervice, and will ever do to my unfortunate life's end."

The Princeſs Anne to the Prince of Orange.—Prince George is to join him.—Uncertain whether to continue where ſhe is, or to repair to the city.

The Cockpit, November 18.

"HAVING on all occaſions given you and my ſiſter all imaginable aſſurances of the real friendſhip and kindneſs I have for you both, I hope it is not neceſſary for me to repeat any thing of that kind; and on the ſubject you have now wrote to me, I ſhall not trouble you with many compliments, only in ſhort aſſure you, that you have my wiſhes for your good ſucceſs in this ſo juſt an undertaking; and I hope the Prince will ſoon be with you, to let you ſee his readineſs to join

with you, who I am ſure will do you all the ſervice that lyes in his power. He went yeſterday with the King towards Saliſbury, intending to go from thence to you as ſoon as his friends thought it proper. I am not yet certain if I ſhall continue here, or remove into the city; that ſhall depend on the advice my friends will give me; but wherever I am, I ſhall be ready to ſhew you how very much I am your humble ſervant."

The Biſhop of London to the Prince of Orange.—The Princeſs Anne thinks of joining the Prince of Orange.

SIR, Nottingham, December 2.

"WE are juſt arrived here, and find the gentlemen here much diſpoſed to go in to you. Her Highneſs has a deſire to go with them, that ſhe may be under your protection: That you may therefore contrive how to ſecure her paſſage to you, it is fit you ſhould know the condition of our troops here; they are very raw, and defective of good officers. We ſhall march a thouſand, and increaſe every day very much, but ſtill we are very weak in diſcipline. I beſeech you, therefore, Sir, to adviſe beſt of this matter what forces will be neceſſary for you to ſend, and wherever I ſhall meet them, and when. I am, Sir," &c.

Lord Devonſhire to the Prince of Orange.—The Princeſs Anne wiſhes to join him.

Nottingham, Dec. the 2d, *at midnight.*

May it pleaſe your Highneſs,

"BY this expreſs your Highneſs will receive notice from the Princeſs and likewiſe from the Biſhop of London, that ſhe intends to join your Highneſs as ſoon as ſhe can. I ſhall preſume to add nothing more, only to

to give your Highneſs, as near as I can, a ſtate of our force. We are (reckoning the gentlemen that are with us) in all about a thouſand horſe, but both our officers are unexperienced, and our men new raiſed; of theſe we ſhall make about two troops of dragoons, and I am afraid no more. We can have great numbers of foot, if we had arms, and ſubmit to your Highneſs whether you will order me to march with ſuch. If not, in my humble opinion, it would be abſolutely neceſſary that a detachment were ſent to meet the Princeſs at ſome certain place, for at this time we are in perfect ignorance (at leaſt I am in my particular) where your Highneſs is. I likewiſe humbly beg that your Highneſs would appoint every day's march."

Earl of Bath to the Prince of Orange.—Is to obey the Prince's directions.

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

"I DO with all poſſible gratitude acknowledge the great honour of your late moſt gracious letter with ſo many ſignal marks of favour and goodneſs towards me, which I ſhall endeavour to deſerve by all the faithful ſervices and actions of my life. Having now fully diſcourſed with my moſt worthy friend the bearer, and particularly imparted to him the methods and meaſures that I have preſumed to think fitteſt to be taken in this juncture, with my reſolution to ſubmit all things to your pleaſure and great wiſdom, I crave leave moſt humbly to refer myſelf to his relation, and ſhall ever yield perfect obedience to your commands, and improve my utmoſt intereſt with all zeal for your ſervice, who am, with all duty and reſpect," &c.

Nov. 18, 1688.

The Biſhop of Briſtol to the Prince of Orange.—In anſwer to a letter from the Prince.—Concurs in his enterpriſe.

"I RECEIVED the great honour of your Highneſs's letter, and beg leave to return you my moſt humble thanks for thoſe kind opinions you have been pleaſed to conceive of me, which I ſhall endeavour ſtill to preſerve.

My Lord Shrewſbury (with whoſe conduct we are all extremely pleaſed) will give you a full account of what has been done here, which if your Highneſs ſhall approve of, it will be great ſatisfaction to me, that I have bore ſome part in the work which your Highneſs has undertaken with the hazard of your life, for the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, the laws and liberties of this kingdom.

I deſire Almighty God to preſerve you, as the means of continuing to us the exerciſe of our holy religion and our laws; and humbly beſeech your Highneſs to believe me very ready to promote ſo good a work, and on all occaſions to approve myſelf your Highneſs's," &c.

Briſtol, December 5.

Biſhop of St. Aſaph to the Prince of Orange.—Irritates the Prince againſt the King.—Has tried in vain to get the Biſhop of Ely to adopt the idea of a ceſſion of the crown by the King.

SIR, December 17, 1688.

"I DID not find the Biſhop of Ely at home, but I looked him out, and broke the matter to him with all poſſible care, that he might not diſcover what I ſaid to be any more than my own thoughts; and it was well I uſed this caution, for I found him ſtrongly poſſeſſed with a project of accommodation. He told me what my Lord

Lord Halifax ſaid he had ſpoken to his Majeſty formerly, when the King was ſending him commiſſioner to his Highneſs, and told his Lordſhip he was willing to make large conceſſions for peace. He told his Majeſty he could not expect that the Prince would accept of any leſs conceſſions than ſuch as would put it out of his power to do ſuch things as he had done heretofore againſt the laws. The Biſhop ſaid, that now he believed his Majeſty was willing to do all that could be required of him, and even to be reduced to the ſtate of a Duke of Venice, committing all the power of war and peace, and of making all officers, eccleſiaſtical and civil, to the Prince for his lifetime; or that he would conſent to bills in parliament for that purpoſe, and to all other bills that ſhould be offered for the ſecurity of religion and civil rights. I did not think it worth the while to aſk him what reaſon he had to believe this, both becauſe I was not inſtructed on that ſubject, and alſo becauſe I did not think the church and kingdom would be very ſafe in ſuch an accommodation. I was not provided to anſwer what he ſaid, that this way was moſt agreeable to his Highneſs's declaration. But how unſafe it would be, I ſhewed him by all the reaſons in my inſtructions, which he was not able to anſwer. Yet I could not perſuade him to propoſe the other way of ceſſion, he has too great a tenderneſs for that, and beſides he deſpaired of doing good in it. If there be any good way of bringing his Majeſty to this, it muſt be by ſome of the criminals that are in danger of the law; they are the men that have always had the greateſt power with him; and now their power is like to be ſo much the greater, becauſe he looks upon them as his ſufferers, though, in truth, he is theirs. And they have not done with him yet; for, as I am certainly informed, there was a throng of Papiſts about him laſt night, with Monſ. Barillon at the head of them; and this day there were thirty or forty

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at his Majeſty's dinner, and no other prieſt but a Jeſuit to ſay grace.

I beſeech God to direct his Highneſs in all theſe difficulties, and to bleſs all his councils with ſucceſs; and the ſame gracious God to continue your health, and to fill you with all comforts."

But the moſt material letter of all is the following anonymous one, which ſeems written by a perſon of condition, and ſuggeſts directly to the Prince to aſſume the crown. I cannot find out the hand-writing.

Anonymous letter to the Prince of Orange, urging him to take the crown.

"THE occaſion of my preſenting this to your Highneſs, aroſe from my Lord Hallifax coming on Friday laſt to me, to let me know that he and my Lord Nottingham and Lord Godolphin were appointed by the King to go commiſſioners to treat with your Highneſs; and that he received the employment with ſome trouble. I freely told his Lordſhip that he had reaſon ſo to do, for he would give very unhappy ſuſpicions that he was engaged in a deſign to give a ſtop to your Highneſs's advancing to this place by the delays of a treaty, and the miſtaken notion of an accommodation; for I plainly told him that nothing of that would be endured, for there was no room left for truſt, and every thing muſt be built upon new foundations: He ſeemed then fully to agree with me, and aſſured me he would not act ſo as to deſerve the leaſt cenſure of this nature.

Yeſterday, being Saturday, he came again to me in the evening, and told me, that though the trumpet that was ſent to your Highneſs for a paſſport was not yet returned, yet they were ordered to go next morning (which is this Sunday) to Windſor, and next day to Reading, and to expect to meet the trumpet by the way.

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I perceived by this haſte that they were reduced almoſt to a dependancy on this deſign, and, therefore, by the advice of ſome conſiderable perſons here, whoſe intereſt in the city and parliament will be very great, I have preſumed to give your Highneſs this account, that you may not only be prepared to judge of his proceedings, but alſo that you may be preſented with the general ſenſe of things here as near as I can collect them; and I may preſume to aſſure your Highneſs, that any delay cauſed by the notion or pretence of a treaty, will caſt a damp on the ſpirits of people who are now raiſed with the mighty expectation of your advance, and are ſo far from having any thoughts of ſettling things by an accommodation, that they only fix upon hopes of remedy by the total change of perſons; judging it the greateſt folly to graft any thing upon the old ſtock; taught by too ſad experience that the difference of religion makes it irreconcileable to truſt though but the name of power with it; for all limitations of power are but notions that may be raiſed to interrupt or hinder that bleſſing to us all, which nothing but miſtakes of ſuch a nature can now prevent; and, therefore, as your Highneſs has come to redeem us from the threatening miſeries of Popery and ſlavery, we can never ſuffer the name or truſt of power in any other perſon.

I doubt not but your Highneſs has in your clearer judgment diſcerned all this, and perhaps you have received accounts of the ſame nature from other hands; yet I, and thoſe friends I adviſe with, thought we could not diſcharge our duties to your Highneſs, and this great cauſe, in which we are all ſo deeply concerned, without our humble repreſentation of this to you, which, if it be agreeable to your ſenſe, we doubt not but your Highneſs will prevent all deſigns that may give the leaſt delay or interruption to your proceedings; for all things are in ſuch a poſture here to receive you, that we have reaſon to ſuppoſe that you will find little oppoſition from force, and therefore all other artifices

artifices will be attempted, which we doubt not but your great judgment and prudence will prevent.

The city keep themſelves prudently quiet, but are very well inclined, and reſolved upon your approach to appear in your aſſiſtance, which I receive now from a conſiderable perſon of it, who alſo believes, that if I can get releaſed by that time of this fit of the gout, that has now held me this three weeks, I may probably be of ſome uſe to them.

Your Highneſs will have an account of the Duke of Norfolk's appearing very conſiderable in that country.

Laſtly, give me leave to preſent to your Highneſs the perſon I ſend this by, Mr. Richard Ophile, he is my wife's brother that died; at preſent a cornet of horſe in the King's army, who has been ready to embrace any occaſion that I ſhould direct him in to ſerve your Highneſs. I have ſo good an opinion of him in all reſpects, that I uſed him in this buſineſs; and humbly deſire your Highneſs to believe, that in any thing you command him he will not deceive your expectation."

There are alſo in the box letters from the Lords Delamer, Stamford, and Brandon (three perſons whoſe lives had been called in queſtion by the King), making apologies to the Prince for their want of ſpeed in joining him: Offences which, however, he never afterwards fully forgave.

Lord Montagu to King William.—Aſks a Dukedom.—Enumerates his ſervices in the queſtion of the Regency.—In King William's box.

SIR, London, May the 18th, 1694.

"I DID not think it very good manners to trouble your Majeſty in the middle of ſo great affairs as you had at your going away, elſe I ſhould have made it my humble

requeſt that you would have been ſo gracious as to have done my family the ſame honour you have done to my Lord Clare, Bedford, and others. This requeſt had been made to you by the old Duke of Schomberg, who thought himſelf under ſome obligation to me for the encouragement I gave him to attend you in your expedition into England, but that I did not think it reaſonable to aſk the being put over the Duke of Shrewſbury's head; but now, Sir, that you have given him that rank, which the greatneſs of his family and perſonal merit has deſerved, I may, by your Majeſty's grace and favour, pretend to the ſame dignity as well as any of the families you have promoted, being myſelf the head of a family that many ages ago had great honours and dignities, when I am ſure theſe had none; and we having loſt them by the civil wars between York and Lancaſter, I am now below the two younger branches, my Lord Mancheſter and Sandwich. I have to add to my pretenſion the having married the Duke of Newcaſtle's eldeſt daughter; and it has been the practice of all your predeceſſors, whenever they were ſo gracious to keep up the honour of a family by the female line, to beſtow it upon thoſe who married the eldeſt, without there were ſome perſonal prejudice to the perſon who had that claim. I may add, Sir, another pretenſion, which is the ſame for which you have given a Dukedom to the Bedford family; the having been one of the firſt, and held out till the laſt, in that cauſe which, for the happineſs of England, brought you to the crown. I hope it will not be thought a leſs merit to be alive and ready on all occaſions to venture all again for your ſervice, than if I had loſt my head when my Lord Ruſſel did. I could not then have had the opportunity of doing the nation the ſervice I did, when there was ſuch oppoſition made by the Jacobite party, in bringing my Lord Huntington, the biſhop of Durham, and my Lord Aſhley, to vote againſt

the Regency, and for your having the crown; which was carried but by thoſe three voices and my own. I ſhould not put you in mind of this, but hoping that ſo fortunate and ſo ſeaſonable a ſervice as this, may ſupply all my other wants of merit; and which, ſince you were pleaſed to promiſe me in your bed-chamber at St. James's, before you were King, never to forget, you will not now that are ſo great and ſo gracious a one. The Duke of Shrewſbury can further ſatisfy you what perſecution I ſuffered, and what loſſes I ſuſtained in the two laſt reigns, which muſt make the mortification greater if his humble ſuit be refuſed to," &c.

This letter is ſingular in ſeveral reſpects: Firſt, It ſuppoſes that Lord Ruſſel's conſpiracy had been agreeable to the Prince of Orange. Secondly, it inſinuates that Lord Mountagu had been a party to it, whereas it is certain he was not. I found, in Barillon's correſpondence, that infinite pains were taken in England to fix his acceſſion to that conſpiracy upon him, but in vain. But it muſt be doubly curious to thoſe who, in this Appendix, have ſeen the intrigues of Montagu with the French court in the reign of Charles the IId. King William refuſed the requeſt of this letter.

Barillon's remaining diſpatches, after the Prince of Orange's landing, contain the following anecdotes.

His letter of 25th November, 1688, mentions a force of French troops being ready at Dunkirk and Calais to ſail for England.

His letter of 1ſt December, relates that Lord Melfort had preſſed James to ſeize all the principal perſons of the whig party, as ſoon as the Prince of Orange had landed.

Letter

Letter of 11th December, expreſſes King James's aſtoniſhment at the deſertion of Douglas's Scotch regiment, becauſe, of all his regiments, he truſted it the moſt.

In this letter, and that of 27th December, Barillon ſays James had ordered Jefferies to reſide in the palace, in order that the Great Seal might be at hand to be carried off; and that James believed the loſs of the Great Seal could not be repaired, and that the conſtitution muſt fall looſe by his diſappearance.

Letter of 13th December, deſcribes the various and contradictory advices with which King James was tormented from all quarters.

Letter of 22d December, deſcribes the indignation of the Engliſh common ſoldiers upon hearing Lord Feverſham's order for diſbanding them read.

Letter of 24th December, relates that when King James was diſcovered by the fiſhermen in his firſt flight, one of them knelt and wept; that upon this James wept, and the other fiſhermen who had behaved ill to him before, at the ſight of his tears, fell upon their knees; and that at Feverſham the common people behaved to him with far more reſpect than thoſe of better condition; for which Barillon aſſigns this reaſon, that theſe laſt were afraid of the Prince of Orange.

Lord Dartmouth's notes on Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory, contains the following anecdotes of the time in queſtion.

Extract 1ſt, from Lord Dartmouth's notes.

Note on p. 790. of Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory. "The Duke of Shrewſbury told me, the Prince was much ſurpriſed at his backwardneſs in joining with him, and began to ſuſpect he was betrayed, and had ſome thoughts of returning; in which caſe he reſolved to publiſh the

names of all thoſe that had invited him over, which he ſaid would be a juſt return for their treachery, folly, and cowardice. Lord Shrewſbury told him he believed the great difficulty amongſt them was, who ſhould run the hazard of being the firſt, but if the ice were once broke, they would be as much afraid of being the laſt; which proved very true."

Extract 2d.

Note on p. 819. "There was a great meeting at the Earl of Devonſhire's, where the diſpute ran very high between Lord Halifax and Lord Danby; one for the Prince, the other for the Princeſs: At laſt Lord Halifax ſaid, he thought it would be very proper to know the Prince's own ſentiments, and deſired Fagel would ſpeak, who defended himſelf a great while, by ſaying he knew nothing of his mind upon that ſubject, but if they would know his own, he believed the Prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman uſher; upon which Lord Danby ſaid, he hoped they all knew enough now, for his part he knew too much, and broke up the aſſembly, as Sir Michael Wharton who was preſent told me."

Extract 3d.

Note on p. 808. "The Duke of Leeds told me, that Lord Tyrconell ſent ſeveral meſſages to King William, that he was ready to deliver up Ireland, if he would but give him a decent excuſe, by ſending any thing that looked like a force to demand it: But Lord Halifax told him, that if Ireland was quiet, there would be no pretence for keeping up an army: And if there was none, he would be turned out, as eaſily as he had been brought in; for it was impoſſible to pleaſe England long, and he might ſee they began to be diſcontented already."

BOOK VII.

THE Prince calls together the Members of Charles the Second's two laſt Parliaments.——Proceedings of the Peers.——Of the Meeting of Commons.——Of the Scotch in London.——State of Men's Minds before the Convention meets.——The Prince's Behaviour and Letter to the Convention.——State of Parties among the Commons.——Commons paſs the Vote of Abdication.——State of Parties in the Houſe of Lords, and Intrigues there.——Proceedings of the Houſe of Lords, on the 1ſt, 2d, and 3d Days of their Debates.——The Houſes differ.——Effects of this Difference in the Nation.——Conference between the Houſes.——The Prince opens his Sentiments.——The Houſes agree.——The Settlement of the Government, and Claim of Rights.——Arrival of the Princeſs, and her Behaviour.——Tender of the Crown, and Reflections upon it.

State of men's minds upon the King's ſecond flight.

THE King's ſecond flight did not make thoſe violent impreſſions upon the minds of his ſubjects, which the firſt had done. The ſpirits of men, haraſſed and exhauſted with ſuſpenſe and perplexity, ſunk into a momentary inſenſibility, wiſhed for repoſe, and hoped to find it, for a time at leaſt, in the diſappearance of the King. His fall produced a calm, and a relief from anxiety, not pity for him, not indignation againſt him; the weakneſs of his behaviour having ſtifled thoſe paſſions equally in the breaſts of his friends and his foes.

The

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

The Prince's ſituation was now become delicate. In his manifeſto he had declared, that the calling of a free parliament was the chief end of his expedition. But, to aſſemble a parliament upon the writs which had been iſſued by the King, was to acknowledge his authority; and to call it by his own authority, without any other, might have the appearance of uſurpation. The Prince's good ſenſe, which always ſerved him moſt when he ſtood moſt in need of it, extricated him from this difficulty: There was already a houſe of peers in action; and, in order to ſupply the form of a houſe of commons, he, the ſame day that news arrived of the King's flight from Rocheſter, ſummoned thoſe who had been members of any of the parliaments of Charles II. together with the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council of London, to meet him, three days after, at St. James's.

The Prince calls together the members of Charles II.'s parliament.

Dec. 23.

In this interval, the peers aſſembled the day after the King's flight, in the houſe of Lords, where the ſtrain of their debates correſponded to the perturbation of their minds *. It was propoſed by ſome Lords, in the intereſt of James, to begin with reading the Prince of Orange's declaration: But this, as a reſtraint upon his future proſpects, was over-ruled. Other Lords, in the ſame intereſt, begged that the King's paper of apology for his flight, which was then in the poſſeſſion of Lord Middleton, ſecretary of ſtate, might be read, as the laſt words of their ſovereign, before he was compelled to leave his kingdoms: But, upon the aſſurance of Lord Godolphin, that it contained nothing which could give ſatisfaction to the houſe, they dropped their intreaties; falſely imagining that that Lord was in the ſame intereſt with themſelves. Lord Paget maintained, that the King's retreat was a demiſe in law; and moved that the Princeſs of Orange might be declared Queen. He was ſeconded by the

Proceedings of the peers.

* Clarendon's Diary, 24th December.

biſhop

biſhop of London. But this motion was diſagreeable to the whigs, becauſe, by making no proviſions for the ſecurity of liberty, it haſtened matters too much; and to the Prince, becauſe it preferred his conſort to himſelf. With a view to draw the attention upon an object which might exclude the pretenſions both of the Prince and Princeſs of Orange, Lord Clarendon preſſed for an enquiry into the birth of the Prince of Wales; but was interrupted by Lord Wharton, who ſaid, "He wondered to hear "any body mention that child who was once called the "Prince of Wales." Some Lords, attentive to the ancient forms of government, adviſed, that thoſe members of the commons, who were already returned upon the writs which had been iſſued, ſhould meet at the time ſpecified in the writs, and give orders for proceeding in the other elections: But their advice was ſlighted by both parties; by the King's enemies, leſt a parliament aſſembled upon his writs might ſeem to act under his authority; and by his friends, becauſe they did not chuſe to have a parliament aſſembled at all in the preſent diſpoſition of things. At length, the aſſembly reſolved upon an addreſs to the Prince, which contained two important articles: The one, that he ſhould, in his own name, call a convention of the ſtates, to meet on the 22d of January; the other, that, in the mean time, he ſhould take upon him the adminiſtration of all public affairs. To theſe requeſts a third was added: "That the prince would ſhew the moſt particular at-"tention to the condition of Ireland:" A country which had been long the object of fear and jealouſy to the Engliſh. This addition was oppoſed by the Prince's friends *: A circumſtance of which little notice was taken at the time, but which was afterwards retorted on the Prince himſelf. The addreſs was ſigned by the whole houſe, many of whom had been members of the old court and

They addreſs the Prince to take adminiſtration, and to call a convention.

* Duke of Buckingham's Works.

council.

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

council. But, while the greateſt number joined in it, from a conviction that the meaſure was neceſſary, ſome were influenced by example, and others by a notion * that the beſt way to ſerve their old maſter, was to avoid making their zeal for his ſervice conſpicuous.

Proceedings of the members of Charles II.'s parliaments.

The Prince, who thought it a popular meaſure to delay the acceptance of power from the nobles, until power was likewiſe offered by the people, made anſwer to the Lords, "That he would conſider of their addreſs." Immediately after, he convened the aſſembly of commons, and aſked their advice, "How to purſue the ends of his declaration "in calling a free parliament?" This aſſembly, imitating the example which the other had ſet them, retired to the houſe of commons, choſe Mr. Powle for their ſpeaker, and repeated, in an addreſs to the Prince, the requeſts which had been made by the peers. But, notwithſtanding all this attention to popularity, it was thought by many, that, by avoiding to call the members of the late parliament to this aſſembly, he had diſcovered a jealouſy of part of the nation, which was neither decent nor merited †. Even in the Prince's manner of accepting the adminiſtration, thoſe who narrowly obſerved his words and looks thought they diſcovered either pride or reſerve. He did not return thanks to the lords and commons, in his anſwer to their addreſs; and the expreſſions he made uſe of ſeemed to indicate the diſpoſition of one who conferred, rather than of one who received a favour.

Quiet ſtate of the nation.

Theſe affairs were all tranſacted in the courſe of a few days, and during the appearance of the moſt perfect calm. The Prince immediately exerciſed every act of government; ſummoned the convention to meet; ordered all placemen to reſume their functions; rectified diſorders in

* Duke of Buckingham's Works, vol. 2. p. 94.

† The Duke of Monmouth's Letter to Spenſe, formerly quoted in Part 1. Book 2. ſhows that the Prince of Orange had no reaſon to be afraid of that houſe of commons which had ſat under James II.

the revenue; reſtrained, by a proclamation, the abuſe of the preſs upon political ſubjects; ordered Barillon, the French ambaſſador, to quit the kingdom in twenty-four hours; and removed the Engliſh guards, and the reſt of the King's troops, twenty miles from London. He alſo new-modelled the army, by diſmiſſing ſome officers, and breaking ſome corps, and charged Lord Churchill with the execution of both. Of the corps which were broke, the one moſt talked of was Lord Dover's troop of life-guards; becauſe the Prince's own troop of Dutch guards was put in its place. With a view to give the city an intereſt in his ſucceſs, he borrowed from it 200,000l. All his orders were obeyed, as if he had been already King of England. 1688.

The Prince's behaviour to the Scotch in London.

When the news arrived in Scotland of James's flight from London, moſt men of any rank haſtened to that city; ſome to plead their ſufferings, others their ſervices; ſome to make apologies for what they had done, and others for what they neglected to do. All were received with attention: But the hurry of public buſineſs freed the Prince from the inconveniency of particular explanations, and from the awkward ſituation of pretending to liſten to boaſts and complaints, upon ſubjects in moſt of which he was but little intereſted. His attention to all filled individuals with expectations: His ſilence upon buſineſs, being general, galled none with diſappointments: Almoſt every man who had gone to London reſolved to merit that favour which, in imagination, he poſſeſſed.

Aſſembly of Scotch at London, and Lord Arran's motion.

While the minds of the Scotch were in this diſpoſition, the Prince, upon the 7th of January, aſſembled all the peers and conſiderable gentlemen of Scotland who were in London at the time, and aſked their advice, "how their "religion and liberties might be ſaved." They withdrew to Whitehall to the number of about 30 peers, and 80 gentlemen; and, having choſen the Duke of Hamil-

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

ton preſident of the meeting, they drew up an addreſs to the Prince, in a ſimilar ſtrain with thoſe of the two Engliſh aſſemblies: They intreated him to take upon him the adminiſtration of Scotland, until a convention of the eſtates, to be ſummoned by him, ſhould upon the 16th of March be aſſembled. In this procedure, becauſe there was more ſeeming unanimity, there was leſs ſincerity than in that of the Engliſh aſſemblies: Several members were under previous engagements to counteract the ends * of the addreſs in which they concurred. But one man alone had the ſpirit to ſpeak out their ſentiments and his own: The Earl of Arran, eldeſt ſon of the preſident of the aſſembly, delivered his opinion in theſe words: "I reſpect the Prince "of Orange as much as any man here does. I think "him a brave Prince, and that we all lie under great "obligations to him for delivering us from popery. But, "while I beſtow theſe juſt praiſes upon him, I cannot "violate my duty to the King, my maſter. I muſt diſ-"tinguiſh between his popery and his perſon: I diſlike "the one; but have ſworn and do owe allegiance to the "other. This makes it impoſſible for me to concur in "an addreſs, which gives the adminiſtration of his king-"dom to another. We are Scottiſh not Engliſh men. "The King's grandfather and father did not abdicate the "crown of Scotland, even by quitting their native coun-"try: How then can the King do it by quitting Eng-"land only? The Prince aſks our advice. My advice "is, that we ſhould addreſs him, to invite the King to "return, and call a free parliament, which may provide, "in a conſtitutional way, for the ſecurity of our property, "liberty, and religion. All other ways are unconſti-"tutional. By this alone the nation can avoid preſent "and prevent future diſcord." But this appearance of an open and generous freedom was not received without

* Lord Balcarras's Memoirs.

ſuſpicion.

1688.

ſuſpicion. Men reflected, that, while the Earl of Arran had been attending the King in his barge to Rocheſter, the Duke of Hamilton was waiting upon the Prince of Orange to St. James's; and the conduct of both was imputed to a concert between the father and ſon, that, whichever of the contending parties ſhould prevail, the houſe of Hamilton might ſtill have merit to plead with the victor. The Prince of Orange was more juſt to the ſincerity of Lord Arran, by aſſuring him *, that he reſpected men of honour, to whatever party they might be attached. Yet, amidſt this liberality of ſentiment, he did not loſe ſight of prudence; for he ſoon after committed Arran to the Tower, under another pretence.

Scotch detained in London, till hands kiſſed.

The Prince made uſe of another politic art with regard to the Scotch: Though the way from Scotland to London was open to all, the roads from thence to Scotland were, by his orders, ſtopped up. Public ſafety was made the pretence for this: But the real intention was to detain the Scotch nobility and gentry †, until they ſhould kiſs hands upon his elevation to the throne of England: A ceremony which, it was thought, would, in many, be a pledge of their acquieſcence in his title, lay his enemies open to the ſuſpicions of their own party, and create an impreſſion in Scotland, and ſtill more in England, of the unanimity of the Scotch in his favour.

State of men's minds before the convention meets.

The 22d of January was now faſt approaching, when the Engliſh convention was to meet, and the Prince's adminiſtration to ceaſe. This interval was every where employed in private converſation, or in public writings, upon the proper method of ſettling the kingdom. Multitudes neglected their private affairs, from attention to thoſe of the public. Even women became politicians, and filled all places, where they came, with noiſe and al-

* Crichton, 150. † Lord Balcarras.

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

tercation. Every one had his own ſcheme of government, and was aſtoniſhed that his neighbour did not agree with him. Some heads of parties who were in London endeavoured to adjuſt a national plan, in which all might concur: But, while each inſiſted to lead, and none would conſent to follow, attempts to reconciliation proved only the ſources of new diſſenſion. The eyes of Europe were turned upon the ſcene that was to be exhibited in ſo extraordinary an aſſembly. Nations who were lovers of liberty, and inflamed with high ſentiments, looked with reverence upon the Engliſh, as the avengers of injured laws upon Kings. But thoſe who paid reſpect to eſtabliſhed cuſtoms, whatever they were, conſidered them as rebels to all lawful authority, and as a people given up to their own inextricable diſtractions.

The Prince's behaviour during this period.

The Prince of Orange, who had more intereſt than any in what was to follow *, ſeemed the only perſon in England unconcerned, and unengaged, amid this univerſal ferment. He made no perſonal applications, and where his friends made any, they confeſſed they had no authority from him. He checked the officiouſneſs of Burnet, who, in the beginning of January, propoſed † that the prayers for the King ſhould be ſtruck out of the liturgy. He went little abroad: He was difficult of acceſs. When acceſs was obtained, he appeared civil, but not cordial, liſtened with attention, but anſwered not; and the few queſtions he aſked ‡ ſeemed to proceed only from the common curioſity of a ſtranger. He even went a-hunting ‖, and dined at a private gentleman's houſe in the country, two days before the convention was to take the great queſtion of the ſettlement of the nation into conſideration. In the whole of his behaviour, he not only kept, but affected to ſhew that he kept, his inclinations,

* Sir John Rereſby, p. 306.
† Clarendon's Diary, January 5.
‡ Clarendon, paſſim.
‖ Clarendon, January 26.

concern-

concerning the future measures of the convention, a mystery; either from grandeur of mind, or from the affectation of it; or perhaps from a desire to see the character and actions of the English in their native colours; conscious, that an assembly of commons, most of whose members had twice voted to exclude James from the throne before he enjoyed it, an assembly of peers which had even refused to read the last paper of apology which he had left behind him, an army which had abandoned him whilst he commanded it, a fleet which had followed the example of the army, a church which he had persecuted, and a people who had taken arms almost universally against him, would never think themselves safe, without combining their interests with those of the only person who, obeyed by two fleets and two armies, could secure that liberty which all loved, and that impunity which almost all thought they needed.

The Prince's letter to the convention; and effects it produces.

The convention was opened by a letter from the Prince, in which he desired them to provide for the security of their religion, liberties, and laws. He likewise reminded them of the unsettled state of Ireland, and of the perils to which the Dutch were exposed from the want of their forces to defend their country, and pressed for a speedy relief of the one, and a suitable attention to the services of the other. He even expressed his expectations that they would assist the Dutch in the war which France had declared against them whilst he was in England. But the convention, which was more intent upon their own affairs than on those of other nations, contented themselves in their address, with requesting him to continue his administration, until they should make farther application to him, and to give particular attention to the present state of Ireland. To this address, the Prince answered coldly, "I am glad, that what I have done has pleased "you; *and, since you have desired me* to continue the ad-

"ministration

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

"miniſtration of affairs, I am willing to accept it." But the reaſon of his coldneſs appeared in theſe additional words: "I muſt recommend to you the conſideration "of affairs abroad, which makes it fit for you to expe- "dite your buſineſs, not only for making a ſettlement "at home, but for the ſafety of all Europe." But the convention, inſtead of giving him any ſatisfaction with reſpect to foreign intereſts, adjourned for ſome days; and the commons appointed the 28th of the month, for taking into conſideration the ſtate of the nation.

State of the whig party of the commons.

As that part of the convention which conſiſted of commons had been choſen by the people, and during a popular ferment, it was compoſed moſtly of the whig party. But, as the individuals had been ſeparated from each other by attendance upon their elections in their different counties, they had formed no common plan of party. Every man, therefore, left to himſelf, followed his own courſe, and diſcovered his own temper. All readily agreed, that James ſhould be excluded from the government: But, agreeably to the ſpeculative and independent genius of the nation, they differed among themſelves, both upon the principle, and upon the mode of execution. The republicans inſiſted, that James, for his miſconduct, ſhould be arraigned by a formal accuſation, and depoſed by a regular ſentence. Some of the whig party maintained, that the King's flight was equivalent to a voluntary renunciation of the government: And others, that there was an original contract between Prince and people, by which he was obliged to obſerve the laws, and they to obey him no longer than he did ſo; and that James's breach of his part of this contract had reſtored his ſubjects to their original liberty. Both republicans and whigs, however, agreed in general, that the throne was become vacant. In the choice of the perſon who was ſtill to fill the

vacancy, ſome pointed at the Prince, and others at the Princeſs of Orange. The humourous character of the nation intruded itſelf into the moſt ſerious intereſts: For Sir Charles Sedley, whoſe daughter, James's miſtreſs, had been created Counteſs of Dorcheſter by her lover, though her father had always looked upon the honour as a ſplendid indignity, ſaid, "He wiſhed to make the "King's daughter a Queen, in return for his Majeſty's "having made his daughter a Counteſs *."

And of the tory party of the commons.

The tories, on the other hand, ſtarted at the ideas of depoſition and election, as breaking in upon the ancient tory principle of the ſacred nature of hereditary right. They founded upon the rule of the conſtitution, that the throne is never vacant, but, upon the death of one King, is inſtantly filled with another. But they acknowledged, that the crown was in a ſtate of inability, as much as if James had been in a ſtate of lunacy or non-age; and therefore they propoſed, that a regent ſhould be appointed to act during his life, as was the cuſtom when the King was incapable of acting. Yet, to ſhew that they meant no favour to James by the propoſal, they readily concurred with the whigs, in a reſolution of the houſe, that a papiſt was incapable of wearing the crown of England.

The Prince had the mortification to perceive, that ſome of thoſe who were the moſt attached to his cauſe, were the leaſt attached to his intereſt. Sir Edward Seymour, who had ſet on foot the aſſociation at Exeter, ſpoke with great warmth againſt the vacancy of the throne, and for a ſettlement by a regent. And ſome of the whigs pointed at laying ſuch reſtrictions upon the authority of either King or Regent, as would have reduced the offices almoſt to empty titles.

* Granger Biog. Britan. vol. ii. p. 554.

At

PART I. BOOK VII.

1688.

At last the wiser part of the whigs, at the head of whom was Mr. Somers, persuaded their party to make their own sentiments of liberty bend to the nature of the constitution, and to the principles of the tories. Though the tories maintained, that Kings could not be deposed, they did not deny that they might abdicate. The whigs took advantage of this, and proposed a vote, which, without asserting a right in the convention to depose James, joined the two circumstances of his misconduct and of his flight, to infer, that he had himself abdicated the crown; and which, in compliment to the tories, left it undetermined, whether the defect arising from that abdication was to be supplied by a king or a regent. The vote was in these words: "That King "James the Second having endeavoured to subvert the "constitution of the kingdom, by breaking the original "contract between King and people, and having, by "the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, violated "the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of "the kingdom, has abdicated the government, and that "the throne is thereby vacant." The vote, thus complicated, passed without a division of the house.

Commons pass the vote of abdication,

This great determination, one of the most memorable in the history of mankind, was the work of one day. The vote was no sooner drawn up, than the Commons sent it to the Lords for their concurrence. Mr. Hampden was the person who carried it up. The minds of all were struck with the awful dispensations of Providence, when they saw the vote for the dethronement of the King presented, in name of the people of England, to the Assembly of Peers, by a person whose life had been brought into danger both by the King and his brother, and whose grandfather was the first who shook the throne of the Stuart race.

and send it up by Mr. Hampden.

But,

1688.

But, when the House of Lords took this resolution of the Commons into their consideration, a more regular and steady appearance of party disclosed itself. As the peers were not obliged to attend elections, most of them had continued in London since the arrival of the Prince: Hence they had both time and opportunity to concert their measures, and range their parties; and therefore, in the house of lords, the parties of tory and of whig, which, in the hour of common danger, had united against the common object of their dislike, appeared now, when that danger was over, to resume their former stations and antipathies, and threatened the nation with perplexities and danger.

State of parties in the house of lords.

The tories were the most numerous; and, recollecting their former sufferings from the meanest of mankind in a republican cause, all of them were alarmed with the principles disclosed in the debates of the Commons: But they had not the force of a joint body, because they were divided amongst themselves.

The tory party divided between the King and his daughter.

A few of them were attached to the interest of King James. The chief of these were the bishops who had been persecuted by him, with the exception of Lloyd of St. Asaph; and to these Lord Rochester and Lord Clarendon joined themselves, partly from principle, but more because they had been slighted by the Prince of Orange *: Rochester knew, that the Prince and Princess remembered his former incivility, when, even after his disgrace, he had not, in passing to Spaw, paid them the common attention of a visit †. And Clarendon was disobliged, because the Prince, instead of presenting his old government of Ireland to his ambition, had entered into treaty with Tyrconnel. The rest of the tories favoured the interests of the Princesses, because these, on

* Clarendon's Diary, passim. † Vide Appendix to Book V.

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

the one hand, seemed more compatible with the right of succession than the election of the Prince of Orange, and, on the other, would, if yielded to, equally prevent the return of King James.

Those who favoured the Princesses, divided betwixt a regent and a queen.

That part of the tories which favoured the Princesses was itself divided. One part of them adopted the idea of settling the government in a regency, and proposed to appoint the Princess of Orange regent; the other intended to place her upon the throne.

Nottingham at the head of those who are for a regent. The principles he proceeds upon.

Lord Nottingham was at the head of the party which inclined to give the regency to the Princess. He inveighed, "That the tories in the house of commons "had made a false step, in giving way to the words of a "vote, which, whilst it seemed to comply with their "principles, had, in reality, given a triumph to those "of the whigs: That it was the doctrine of an original "contract between King and people which had paved "the way to the overthrow of the throne, and buried "the peerage, the church, the parliament, and even the "law, in its ruins: That a vacancy supposed an intermission of the monarchy: That abdication implied a "cessation of the office of royalty, and consequently "strengthened the supposal of a vacancy in the throne: "That this vacancy could be supplied only by a new "election; and one election would serve as a precedent "for the repetition of others, until the constitution "ended in an elective monarchy or a republic. But "that, if a regent was appointed, old forms would be "followed, the monarchy preserved unviolated, and the "Princess of Orange, because she was the nearest relation to the crown capable of acting as regent, would "have the legal title to the office."

A regency supported by three bodies of men.

That part of the tories which favoured a regency was numerous by the junction of three different bodies of men: Almost all the bishops and high-church lords, being

being ashamed to retract the monarchical principles they had so long professed, wished for an opportunity of shewing, that, though they had from necessity suspended their principles of passive obedience, they would not without necessity relinquish those of indefeasible hereditary right. These men, at the same time, favoured the Princess, because the Princess were attached to the church; and they suspected the Prince, because he had been educated in the tenets of Calvin. Again, the private friends of James thought, that, if they could not preserve his right, it was at least gaining one point to preserve the young Prince's; that the prospect of the son's succession would keep the foes of the father in awe; and that a regency would embarrass the Prince of Orange in the execution, and make him jealous of a people, who, in return for all his services, had not only preferred his consort to himself, but had made him no more than the delegate of another's power during another's life. Many too in high life, guided by humour, or cautious in their tempers, joined a party in which their discontents or their fears might pass for principle. For, the reserve of the Prince, in avoiding to influence the measures of the convention, offended the pride of some, who thought that a crown was worth asking, and that gratitude for favours arose in proportion to the difficulties of success. But more reflected, that in their persons, estates, and honours, they ran greater risks than other men; because, in every great revolution of government, they were always the first to be punished for the offences which all had committed. And they hesitated, when they considered the open disobedience of Ireland; the disposition of Scotland not yet known; the espousal of James's interest by a monarch who had been accustomed to cause all Europe to tremble; the uncertainty of the Prince of Orange's life, from the weakly state of his health, remarked by all who approached

1688.

2d body.

PART I. BOOK VII.

1688.

proached him*; and the Dutch war with France, which they foresaw could not fail to draw his troops and his person very soon from amongst them.

Danby at the head of those who are for a queen. The principles he proceeds upon.

That part of the tories which inclined to place the Princess of Orange upon the throne, was conducted by Lord Danby. This lord perceived, that a government by a regent supposed the administration to be in one, and the right in another; and foresaw the danger to which men would think themselves exposed, in opposing a Prince whose right was acknowledged even by the mode of government itself. In order to prevent these consequences, he supposed, that the right of James was at an end by his abdication, and of the young Prince by his illegitimacy: From thence he concluded, that the throne was not vacant, but filled with the lineal heir, the Princess of Orange; and maintained, that her elevation was so far from being a breach of the order of succession, that it was a direct continuation of it. Deep and bold in his schemes, Danby even sent over a messenger with a letter to the Princess in Holland, to assure her, that, if she would join her personal interest to his, he would place her alone upon the throne: A measure to which he was prompted, partly by ambition, and partly † by a disappointment, which he found he was to receive from the Prince, in his views upon that treasurer's staff which, in a former reign, he had carried.

He makes proposals to the Princess.

The whigs of the peers united to make the Prince King.

Such were the views of the tory party. The whigs, and chiefly Lord Halifax, were earnest to place the Prince of Orange upon the throne. Yet a few of them concurred in Lord Danby's project, from a desire of shewing their reverence for the constitution, and their independence upon the Prince.

Proceedings of the lords The whigs successful the first day,

Lord Nottingham was sensible of the art of the whigs of the house of commons, in leaving the question un-

* Reresby, 324. † Ibid. 308.

determined,

determined, whether the government ſhould be ſettled in a king or a regent, while yet they had in their vote eſtabliſhed principles which paved the way to the former mode. He foreſaw, that, as the tories in the houſe of lords were not ſo united in their views or principles as the whigs, they might ſplit in canvaſſing that vote, article by article: But he knew that moſt of them would unite in the project of a regency: And therefore he began the debate upon the vote of the commons, where the commons had ſtopped: For he brought on a queſtion *, "Whether a regency, with the adminiſtra-" tion of regal power, and the ſtile of King James the " Second, during the life of that King, would be the " beſt and ſafeſt way to preſerve the proteſtant religion, " and the laws of this kingdom?" Lord Rocheſter ſupported the ſettlement by a regency, gaining, of all others, the greateſt honour in the courſe of theſe debates. After a debate which laſted until midnight, the whigs carried it for a government by a king, not a regent, by a majority of two voices; the numbers being 51 to 49: A victory owing to the acceſſion which Lord Danby brought to the ſide of the whigs; and to the abſence of Archbiſhop Sancroft, who, holding the convention to be unlawful, obſerved, during thoſe times of great revolution, an unglorious neutrality; of the Lords Huntingdon, and Mulgrave, who alledged, that they could not vote either way, without putting an indignity upon their old maſter, to whom they had been obliged; and of Lord Churchill, under the pretence of a ſimilar delicacy, but, in reality, becauſe the Princeſs Anne would not take her own reſolution, until ſhe ſhould know that of her ſiſter. Lord Godolphin voted for a regency, according to the method he had long followed, of keeping meaſures with both parties.

* Journals of the houſe of lords, January 28.

Next

PART I. BOOK VII.

1688.

Next day, the lords debated the vote of the commons, article by article. The firſt queſtion was, "Whether "there was an original contract between prince and "people, which had been broken by King James?" A philoſophical queſtion, which only in a nation of freemen and philoſophers could have been made the ſubject of debate in a ſenate. But here the tory party ſplit again. For many thought they could not juſtify to themſelves, or to others, their late reſiſtance, unleſs upon the ſuppoſition that James had firſt infringed his duties to them. The whigs carried the queſtion by a majority of ſeven, the numbers being 53 to 46. Yet the tories carried another queſtion: For the word *abdicated*, in the vote of the commons, was changed into *deſerted*; ſome thinking that James had deſerted his ſtation, who could not be brought to agree that this amounted to an actual abdication.

Appearances doubtful on the 2d day.

On the third day, which was the 30th of January, the great concluding queſtion was taken up: "Whether "King James, having broken the original contract, "and deſerted the government, the throne was thereby "vacant?" A queſtion, in the debating of which all the animoſity of parties, and all the abilities of men inured to the greateſt affairs, were exerted. During the debate, the whigs, perceiving that Lord Danby, upon his principle of the throne being already filled by the Princeſs, would vote againſt them in the queſtion of the vacancy, propoſed this queſtion: "Whether, inſtead "of the words in the vote of the commons, *The throne* "*is thereby vacant*, ſhould be inſerted theſe words *, "*The Prince and Princeſs of Orange be declared King and* "*Queen?*" But, upon a previous queſtion, "Whether "this queſtion ſhall be now put?" it was reſolved in the negative; the numbers being 52 to 47. After this, the

Tories victorious on the 3d day, and the lords diſagree to the vote of the commons.

* Journals houſe of commons, January 31.

queſtion

queſtion being put, "Whether to agree with the commons, that the throne is vacant?" Danby and his friends voted, as had been foreſeen; and it was reſolved in the negative, by a majority of 14 voices; the numbers being 55 to 41. Againſt this reſolution, 37 lords entered their diſſents *; of whom the moſt remarkable was Lord Mulgrave, whoſe delicacy had in this ſhort interval been removed.

The lords diſclaim the cauſe of K. James;

Yet this victory of the tories brought no advantage to James: For, in the courſe of theſe debates †, the lords ordered a thankſgiving for the delivery of the nation from popery and arbitrary power, and the prayers for James to be ſuſpended in their houſe ‡: They concurred with the vote of the commons, that the kingdom could not be governed by a popiſh King ‖; they refuſed to receive a letter from James; and they gave orders, that the anniverſary thankſgiving for his acceſſion, on the enſuing 6th of February, ſhould be diſcontinued.

but preſerve ſilence with regard to the pretenſions of his ſon.

The victory of the tories brought as little advantage to the young Prince. During the courſe of the debates, it having been propoſed to examine into his legitimacy, the propoſal was unanimouſly over-ruled; ſome drawing a veil over his pretenſions, leſt they ſhould be impaired; others, leſt they ſhould be ſuſtained; ſome thinking it a prudent moderation to leave room for his claim at ſome future period, in order to make the friends to his family keep a guard upon their actions, from the fear of diſappointing that claim altogether; others of bolder ſpirits declaring, that a dormant title to the crown was a benefit to the ſubject, from the dependence in which it would always keep the Prince who poſſeſſed it; but moſt diſliking explanations, from the delicacy of the ſubject and the uncertainty of events.

* Journals houſe of lords, January 31. † Ibid. January 22.
‡ Ibid. Jan. 28. ‖ Ibid. Feb. 2. and Clarendon's Diary, Feb. 2. and 4.

After

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

After the two houſes had differed concerning the vacancy of the throne, the individuals of which they were compoſed made their appeal for their conduct to the public. The people entered into the diſpute with the uſual ardour of Engliſhmen in what relates to the public; and in an inſtant the animoſities of whig and tory, with more than uſual bitterneſs, were tranſerred from the two houſes of convention, to the ſtreets, the public walks, the coffee-houſes, and taverns, and to the inmoſt receſſes of company and private families. In vain had the commons in their debates proteſted, that they meant only to apply a preſent remedy to a preſent diſtreſs. In vain did moſt of the peers, in private and in public, diſclaim all attachment to the perſon of James. The tories exclaimed, "That the commons looked forward "to futurity, and intended to make the monarchy "elective, or to eſtabliſh a republic:" And the whigs, "That the peers wiſhed to replace James upon the "throne." But thoſe who looked at conſequences more than at the reciprocal complaints of parties, lamented, "That one branch of the legiſlature deemed "the throne to be vacant, while the other deemed it to be "filled; and that, although James ſeemed excluded by "both as a papiſt, yet there was no likelihood of their "agreeing who ſhould take the benefit of his excluſion."

Differences between the houſes, how received by the nation;

and by the populace of London.

The populace, always impatient, becauſe ſuſpenſe is attended with uncertainty and fear, aſſembled tumultuouſly, two days after the vote of the Lords, and preſented petitions to both houſes of convention to ſettle the Prince and Princeſs of Orange upon the throne. While the members were paſſing through the long lanes of people who were aſſembled in crowds at the doors of the houſes of parliament, they were loaded with imprecations or with bleſſings, according as they were thought to ſtand affected.

But the Prince, ſcorning to receive power from ſuch ignoble hands, iſſued a proclamation, and ſtopped the diſorderly proceeding.

Conference between the houſes.

The day after this tumult, the lords ſent their amendments to the commons. The commons, upon a diviſion of 182 to 151, adhered to the terms of their reſolution, and ſent up their reaſons to the lords, for not complying with their amendments. The lords continued firm, and combated theſe with counter-reaſons, in which they did not forget to declare * "their willingneſs to ſecure the "nation againſt the return of King James;" and ſent their own reaſons to the commons. A ſecond conference enſued on the 5th of February. In the courſe of this altercation, the heats of temper entered into the heats of party: Obſtinacy grew from oppoſition: And a free conference between the houſes was therefore reſolved upon, as the only reſource that remained to prevent a rupture.

This free conference was held next day, the 6th of February. But, as the managers appointed for the conference were chiefly the moſt violent of the whigs among the commons, and of the tories among the lords; and as the one ſide intended to raiſe the Prince of Orange to the throne, either alone, to diſplay the power of the people, or jointly with the Princeſs, to deſtroy the rights of her father's family, by ſeeming to reſpect them; and the other, to place the Princeſs alone upon it, either as regent, to preſerve the rights of her father's family, or as Queen, to prevent them from being altogether cancelled; but both, without ſhewing what their real intentions were; the arguments made uſe of in the conference were obſcure and affected. The true cauſes of difference were kept from the ſight, and falſe ones hung out in their places. Men, who met on ſuch terms, to convince, not to be

* Journ. H. of Lords, Feb. 5.

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

convinced, to impoſe, not to enlighten, could not eaſily perſuade each other, or their audience. The conference therefore promiſed to the public only a continuance of thoſe diſſenſions which it was intended to remove.

The Prince declares his ſentiments, and threatens to leave England.

During theſe debates, the Prince of Orange had felt all the agonies which can be ſuppoſed to ariſe, either from diſappointed ambition, or from the ſenſe of ſervices ill requited *. The ſilence which he had reſolved to obſerve, added, as happens in all great paſſions, to his pain. He kept the Princeſs in Holland, on purpoſe to prevent intrigues for her intereſt. At firſt he formed the expectation of being placed alone upon the throne, and endeavoured to bring this about by the ſecret intrigues of Bentinck. But two inſtances of the boldneſs of Engliſh ſpirit checked him. For, Bentinck having urged the deſign, at a conſultation of the Prince's party, which was held in the lodgings of Mr. William Herbert, afterwards Lord Herbert, who was then confined with the gout; Herbert ſtarted from his bed, and declared that if he had foreſeen ſuch a deſign, he would never have drawn a ſword for the Prince. And at a great meeting of party, Fagel having been preſſed to make known the Prince's mind, and having excuſed himſelf, but added, that if his own opinion was aſked, he would ſay it was, "that the Prince "would not like to be his wife's Gentleman Uſher:" Danby, in a paſſion, broke up the aſſembly, ſaying, "he "hoped they all knew enough *now*, and that for his part "he knew *too much* †." At laſt, letters arrived from the Princeſs: For, pleaſed to have an opportunity of ſhewing how little ſhe merited the precautions which the Prince had taken againſt her, ſhe wrote an anſwer to Danby's letter, in which ſhe expreſſed her reſentment againſt his attempt to divide her intereſt from her huſband's; and

* Duke of Buckingham.

† Vid. Appendix to Part 1. Book 6. No. 2.

ſent his letter, together with her own, to the Prince. Upon receiving theſe letters, the Prince, tired out with the procraſtination of the Engliſh, and alarmed to find their diviſions endeavoured to be thrown into his own family, thought it was full time to interpoſe, and to ſuſpend the rage of parties by the only thing which could do it, the terror of his leaving a divided nation to the ſettlement of their own differences, and to the mercy of a Sovereign whom they had offended. Having therefore convened Danby, Halifax, Shrewſbury, and a few others of moſt eminence, he ſaid, "He had not hitherto interfered "in their debates, leſt he might have appeared to inter- "rupt their freedom. But he muſt now ſpeak out. Some, "he heard, propoſed to ſettle the government in the hands "of a regent, during the King's life. He had no ob- "jection: It might be a wiſe project: But if he was the "perſon intended for the office, he thought proper to let "them know, he would accept of no dignity dependent "upon the life of another. Others, he underſtood, pro- "poſed to ſettle the Princeſs alone on the throne, and "admit him to a participation of power through her "courteſy. Her rights he would not oppoſe: Her vir- "tues he reſpected: No one knew them better than he "did: Crowns to others had charms: To him they had "none: But he thought it proper alſo to let them know, "that he would hold no power dependent upon the will "of a woman. Therefore, if either of theſe ſchemes "were adopted, he could give them no aſſiſtance in the "ſettlement of the nation; but would return to his own "country, happy in the conſciouſneſs of the ſervices he "had endeavoured, though in vain, to do to theirs."

This declaration had the effect which the Prince intended. All wiſe men ſaw there was no medium in the preſent ſtate of things, between placing him upon the throne, and recalling the King to it. Every conſidera-

The lords agree with the commons, and cauſes of the agreement.

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

tion of safety and of prudence opposed the latter measure: Necessity called for the former. In this dilemma, the free and daring spirit of the English determined the balance in favour of the Prince of Orange: For, in matters of government, men are influenced by their feelings, more than by their opinions. Other causes contributed to the Prince's success. The sacrifice which the Princess had made to her husband cooled the church-party in her interest. The Princess of Denmark, after wavering much, even contradicting herself sometimes *, and keeping those long in suspense who respected her rights, or were attached to her fortunes, had, at last, upon the promise of an ample revenue to support her dignity, consented to be postponed to the Prince in the settlement of the crown: A surrender made from an affectation of not appearing too anxious to possess her father's throne, but in reality, from the persuasion of Lady Churchill †, one of the most interested of women, who possessed, at that time, the dominion of her spirit, and who hoped to serve her own interest and her husband's ‡, by betraying those of her mistress. The arts which are by all governments made use of, and by all disclaimed, to influence individuals by their hopes or their fears §, were also put in practice: Lord Montagu, beyond others, displaying that spirit of intrigue, which, in a former reign, had been so fatal to Lord Danby, the Duke of York, and Charles II ‖. Hence, some agreed to come over to the Prince's party, among whom were Lord Huntington, and James's nephews, the Dukes of Southampton, Grafton, and Northumberland; and others, to be absent at the vote, among whom was Lord Godolphin, who pretended he had business with the Prince at the treasury. Crew, the obnoxious bishop of Durham ¶, who,

* Clarendon, Feb. 5. March 12. Reresby, 314.
† Dutchess of Marlborough's Conduct, and Clarendon's Diary, passim.
‡ Duke of Buckingham. § Clarendon, Feb. 6, and passim.
‖ Vide his letter to King William, in Appendix.
¶ Burnet, vol. 2. p. 822. Clarendon's Diary.

when

when appointed one of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſion by James, had ſaid he rejoiced at it, becauſe it would make his name famous in hiſtory, and who was lurking on the ſea-coaſt for a veſſel to ſecure him of impunity in France, hearing there was now an opportunity to cancel the remembrance of paſt offences in preſent ſervices, returned to London, to give his vote for that cauſe of liberty which he had inſulted, and againſt that Prince who had raiſed him.

From theſe various cauſes, the apprehenſions which had been raiſed in the public by the keen, and ſtill more by the obſcure management of the free conference between the two houſes, were removed, when the peers, after the conference was finiſhed, returned to their own houſe, and debated the ſubject of the conference. For they reſolved to depart from their amendments, and to concur in the vote of the commons, by a majority of fifteen voices; the numbers being 62 to 47; and Lord Danby leading the way to contend for the neceſſity of acknowledging that vacancy which he had formerly denied. They next debated how the vacancy of the throne ſhould be filled. Lord Halifax moved, that the Prince ſhould reign alone: One Lord only followed him in this affectation of complaiſance. But Lord Danby moved, "That the Prince and Princeſs of Orange ſhould be declared King and Queen." As men naturally favour the proſperous, the Prince's friends gained an acceſſion of ſtrength upon this motion, and it was agreed to by a majority of 20 voices, the numbers being 65 to 45.

Lords reſolve to fill the throne with the Prince and Princeſs;

The peers inſtantly proceeded to adjuſt the oath of allegiance. The common form of it had been to ſwear allegiance to the King, as *rightful and lawful King*. It was objected by the tories that theſe words imported a precedent title in the Sovereign, but could not apply to the Prince, whoſe only title was the voice of the people.

and fix the oath of allegiance.

The

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

The whigs, who aimed at things, not at words, agreed that the oath ſhould be in general, to bear true allegiance to King William and Queen Mary: A fatal conceſſion which confounded the diſtinction between the friends and foes to government, by pointing out to thoſe in the intereſt of James, the diſtinction between a King *de facto* and a King *de jure*, and leading them to think they were juſtified in ſwearing allegiance to one Prince, at the time they maintained that the right to his crown was in another, and that they were obliged to defend that right, whenever he ſhould be in a capacity to aſſert it himſelf. Lord Nottingham, who had declared, that though he could not make a King, yet he would obey the King that was made, and who believed that the ſubjects would refuſe to take the ancient oath of allegiance *, was the perſon who made the motion for the new oaths: Clarendon's † was the ominous hand which drew them.

Reflections of the populace.

When the news of theſe votes had ſpread abroad, even thoſe who attended to the cauſes of things wondered at the inſtability of a government, which could paſs from the appearance of diſcord between the houſes at their conference in the morning, into their union by theſe votes of the lords in the afternoon. But the populace ſtruck, and, according to their nature, perhaps pleaſed with the inſtability of human grandeur, reminded each other, how the crown had tottered upon the King's head at his coronation; pointed to the ſtatue of James at Whitehall, which was placed with its back to the palace, and its face to the river; and remarked, that the day on which his throne was declared vacant, and the oaths of allegiance fixed to his ſucceſſor, was the anniverſary of his acceſſion.

* Clarendon's Diary, Feb. 5. Rereſby, 326.

† Journals of the houſe of lords, Feb. 7.

Next

1688.

Next day, the lords resolved, notwithstanding the joint sovereignty of the Prince and Princess, "that the full "regal power should be in the Prince alone in the "name of both:" An expedient which, in appearance, paid respect to the rights of the Princess and to the principles of the nation, and averted from her husband the odium of reigning alone; while, in reality, it conferred the exclusive sovereignty upon him. They resolved further, "That upon the decease of the Prince and "Princess, the crown should belong to the heirs of the "body of the Princess; and, in default of such issue, to "the Princess Anne, and the heirs of her body; and, in "default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the "Prince of Orange; and, in default of such issue, to "the person that should be named in such manner as "should be limited and regulated by act of parliament; "and, in default of such limitation, to the heirs of the "Prince of Orange."

Lords put the exercise of government in the King alone.

These resolutions, as soon as framed, were sent to the commons for their concurrence. But the commons, who had taken only one day to declare the throne vacant, now delayed during six days to concur with the lords in the settlement of the crown, until a declaration of the rights of the subjects, upon the chief articles in dispute between the King and the people, should be adjusted, being determined to make concessions to liberty the condition of the transfer of the crown. In settling the terms of this security, many disputes arose among the members of both houses, and between the houses themselves; disputes in which, for the most part, the difference of opinion only shewed the union of sentiment; the sentiment of freedom, and of the just jealousy of its interests in freemen. The declaration of rights maintained, "That "the suspending and dispensing powers, as exercised by "King James; all courts of ecclesiastical commission; "the

Commons delay till declaration of rights be adjusted.

Articles of the declaration of rights.

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

" the levying of money, or maintaining ſtanding forces " in time of peace, without conſent of parliament; " grants of fines and forfeitures before conviction; and " juries of perſons not qualified, or not fairly choſen, " and who in trials of treaſon were not freeholders; " were unlawful. It aſſerted the freedom of election to " parliament, the freedom of ſpeech in parliament, and " the right of the ſubject to bear arms, and to petition " his ſovereign." Pitying and reſpecting human nature, it provided, " That exceſſive bails ſhould not be re- " quired, nor exceſſive fines impoſed, nor cruel and un- " uſual puniſhments inflicted." And it concluded with the great ſecurity of Engliſh liberty, " That parliaments " ſhould be frequently aſſembled."

One thing very remarkable in the declaration of rights, is, that it condemns not the ſuſpending and diſpenſing powers, but only thoſe powers as exerciſed by King James. From this the tories inferred the truth of their principles, with regard to thoſe powers: But, as this was afterwards altered, in the act which converted the declaration into a law, the victory remained with the whigs.

Reflections of the nation upon the declaration.

After this declaration was approved by both houſes, numbers exclaimed, " At this great æra, the power of " the crown ſhould have been circumſcribed, the liberty " of the ſubject defined, and both combined into a ſyſtem, " which would have made the Engliſh conſtitution un- " changeable and immortal. But, inſtead of this, the " declaration did not extend to a ſufficient variety o " objects: It was not ſufficiently explicit upon thoſ " which it reached: In the laſt great article of all, th " words, *frequent parliaments*, left the intervals of thei " aſſembling, and the duration of their ſitting, as un " determinate as ever."

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But those of wiser minds observed, "That the revolution having been brought about by a coalition of whigs and tories, the former were obliged to make concessions to the latter, and to be contented with the concessions which they could get from them in their turn. That political wisdom is founded more upon experience than theory; and that all the improvements of the English constitution have arisen from applying remedies to evils that were felt, not to those which men thought they foresaw. That its duration has been owing to the constant vibration between the attempts of the executive and legislative powers upon each other, which fixes the attention of the citizens upon the public, as if they were guards set on watch, and keeps both powers in reciprocal awe of each other; and that the first calm of unanimity in Great Britain will be the last sigh of expiring freedom. That a King, who can raise neither money nor forces without consent of parliament, is under a continual necessity of resorting to it. And that, when the declaration of rights, with all its imperfections, was joined to those constitutional articles which had been already established, the whole records of mankind presented not a system of freedom so complete and so happy."

Alterations made upon the order of succession.

The whigs of the house of commons, in the zenith of their power, after the vacancy of the throne was declared by both houses, gave still another proof of their moderation, and of their respect for the principles of the tories. They so far altered the resolution of the lords, as to strike off that part of it, which, in default of the Princess of Denmark's issue, put the nomination of the succession in the hands of parliament, and in default of such nomination, bestowed the crown on the heirs of the Prince of Orange: An alteration agreeable likewise to

PART I. BOOK VII. 1688.

the Prince; partly becauſe it gave him an opportunity, through the uncertainty of the ſucceſſion, to flatter whom he pleaſed with the hopes of it; and partly becauſe it removed the odium which attended the bringing his collateral heirs at all into view.

The arrival of the Princeſs, and her behaviour.

The tender of the crown, and the declaration of the liberties of the ſubject, were thrown into one inſtrument of government. The ſame day upon which this inſtrument paſſed the convention, the Princeſs of Orange arrived from Holland. The ſingularity of her ſituation made her behaviour attended to when ſhe entered the palace. In the confuſion of her ſpirits, ſhe betrayed a womaniſh levity*, of which the friends of the preſent and thoſe of the late King equally took advantage; the former, to juſtify the conduct of thoſe who had given the excluſive adminiſtration to her huſband; the latter, to draw pity to a prince who had a daughter ſeemingly ſo unnatural. She ſhewed ſeverities† alſo to her uncles Clarendon and Rocheſter, expreſſing that ſenſe of injuries, which their new maſter either felt not, or ſuppreſſed; and thus manifeſted in all things, that ſhe made the duties of the daughter and the niece yield to thoſe of the wife.

Tender of the crown, and different reflections upon it.

The day after her arrival, the two houſes went in ſtate, to make a free gift of the crown to the Prince and Princeſs. They began by reading aloud the inſtrument of government, in order to intimate to the Sovereigns who received it, the conditions upon which it was given. Lord Halifax made the tender of the crown. The Prince and Princeſs were inſtantly proclaimed; and, to augment the ſplendour of the ceremony, both houſes attended the proclamation. Thoſe perſons, who conſidered that the ultimate end of government is the ſafety

* Dutcheſs of Marlborough. † Clarendon's Diary, paſſim.

of

of the people, and that the miſeries of one ought not to be put in competition with the happineſs of millions, rejoiced: But thoſe who thought that the fates of Princes are the objects of humanity, as well as the fates of their ſubjects, grieved to ſee the Princeſs receive the crown in the hall of that palace from which her father had been driven; and at the gate of which her grandfather had, by ſome of thoſe who now placed the crown on her head, and by the fathers of others, been brought to the block. Men of philoſophical ſpirits foreſaw, that, as both impreſſions were thoſe of nature, poſterity would feel the effects of them, when the millions who now rejoiced or lamented would be laid in the duſt.

BOOK VIII.

MUTINY of the Scottiſh Regiments in England.—— Heads and State of Parties in Scotland.——Vigorous Meaſures of the Scottiſh Covention.——Lord Dundee's Attempts to diſturb it diſappointed.——Forfeiture of James.——Settlement of the Crown, and Claim of Rights.——Panic of a Maſſacre in Ireland.——Revolt of Londonderry.——William's Neglect of Ireland.—— State of Ireland.

AFTER the Prince of Orange had got poſſeſſion of the government of England; Scotland and Ireland remained ſtill to be ſettled. But whilſt he was preparing to obtain poſſeſſion of theſe kingdoms likewiſe, he was ſurpriſed with a defection in the army, which alarmed him the more, becauſe he recollected that ſimilar incidents had been the forerunners of the ruin of the late King. Notwithſtanding the reform which William had made in the troops, he knew there were ſtill ſome Engliſh corps diſaffected to his ſervice; and of the Scotch, in particular the royal regiment of dragoons, known at preſent by the name of the Scotch Greys, and Lord Dumbarton's regiment of foot, now the Royal Scotch. The laſt of theſe had been the favourite regiment of the late King, becauſe it was both daring and obedient; and the officers and ſoldiers were at this time diſguſted, becauſe Lord Dumbarton had been diſmiſſed from the command of it, and

Mutiny of Scottiſh regiments in England.

PART I. BOOK VIII. 1689.

and Marſhal Schomberg put in his room. William, therefore, reſolved to ſend over the diſaffected corps of both nations to Holland, in order to replace ſome of the Dutch troops, which, as more to be depended upon, he intended to keep with him in England. The regiments which were to be ſent off, either hearing the intention, or from the conſciouſneſs of their own affections, ſuſpecting the King's*, began to form a train of communication with each other, for aſſembling, and retiring northwards among the papiſts in the north of England, and to Scotland, whoſe parliament had not as yet declared for the new government. The emiſſaries of the late King, and ſtill more their own diſcontents, inſinuated to the Engliſh part of the mutineers, "That "they, who were the only remains of the army who "had continued faithful to their Sovereign, were now "to be puniſhed for that fidelity which is the chief point "of honour among ſoldiers. The late King had in-"deed brought ſome of his own religion into his "army; but he had not baniſhed the native troops of "England from their own country, and much leſs "placed foreign ones in their ſtead to command that "country with a foreign force." But the two Scotch regiments ſtormed aloud, "They were part of a free "people, independent of the government of England "and of its laws. Their national aſſembly had not as yet "renounced allegiance to King James. By the laws of "nations, they were not ſubject to the orders of any "King, but of one acknowledged in Scotland, the "King of their country. Their anceſtors had tranſ-"mitted the independence of their kingdom ſafe to "them. It was their duty to convey it inviolated to "poſterity. They had arms, the marks and honours of

* Rereſby, 337. Journ. h. lords, March 15.

"freemen,

"freemen, in their hands: And, while they had theſe, to "ſubmit to ſuffer tranſportation like felons, was unworthy "their own character, or that of their nation." With ſuch diſcourſes the ſoldiers and many of the officers having, during ſeveral days, animated each other; the ſoldiers at laſt called to their officers, "To lead them on, to "advance the colours, and not to wait for the junction "of their Engliſh friends; men ſlow in reſolution; "though brave againſt real, yet impotent from their "continual fear of imaginary dangers; who, impatient "of bearing hunger and long marches, could only ſerve "to conſume their proviſions and retard their ſpeed; "who, amid their cups and feaſts, would promiſe every "thing, but, when called to the field in their Sove-"reign's cauſe, would perform nothing."

March 12. No interval of time was to be perceived between exhorting, reſolving, executing. All in an inſtant are in motion. While part are preparing for their march, others had already begun it: Some by orders, ſome without, and ſome in ſpite of them. They diſarmed the few officers who oppoſed the ſentiments of the reſt. They ſeized the money provided for the pay of the regiments; and, with drums beating, colours flying, and four pieces of cannon, marched off from Ipſwich, the intended place of their embarkation, to traverſe one half of England peaceably, if they were not oppoſed, by force, if they were. The panic which they raiſed wherever they came, and much more where they did not come, exhibited an example which England has often ſeen, but never believes, until the moment ſhe ſees it again, how weak againſt an attack in her own country is the wealthieſt of nations, when her ſubjects believe that they have an intereſt againſt a ſtanding army, and her Sovereigns are made to believe that they have an intereſt againſt a national militia. William inſtantly communicated

PART I. BOOK VIII.

1689.

municated this event to both houſes of the legiſlature, informing them, that there were 1500 men in arms, with money to ſubſiſt them*. Both houſes, in addreſſes, termed the mutiny a rebellion, and adviſed the King to iſſue a proclamation againſt the fugitives as traitors†. The houſe of commons gave leave to all their members, who were officers of the army, to repair to their ſtations; and, the ſame day on which they received the King's meſſage, they haſtened to vote the Dutch bill of charges in the cauſe of the revolution. The King diſpatched General Ginkle‡, with three regiments of dragoons, and a regiment of horſe, to purſue the mutineers, and iſſued orders for the counties to obſtruct and haraſs their march. The Scotch, upon intelligence of theſe things, took their way through the iſle of Ely, with a view, in a fenny country, to avoid the attacks of cavalry. But, in their paſſage, they found the bridges and roads broken up, the trees felled acroſs the highways, and the proviſions of the country removed. Ginkle hung upon their rear. The militia prepared to oppoſe them in front. They learned, that their confederates in England, inſtead of imitating their example, were in motion to defend that cauſe which they had engaged to deſtroy. The common men began to loſe their ſpirits: The officers, who believed that, in the puniſhment of a general mutiny, they would be ſelected to ſuffer for the faults which all had committed, inſiſted that the whole body ſhould die with their arms in their hands. The common men heſitated for ſome time upon the propoſal; but, at laſt, inferring impunity from their obſcurity, they refuſed to

The King informs the parliament of it.

The regiments ſurrender.

* Journals of the houſe of commons, March 15th.

† The danger ſwelled in the imaginations of the peers; for in their addreſs they informed the King, "That other ſoldiers, and traiterous perſons, were in conſpiracy with the Scotch regiments."

‡ Journals of the houſe of commons, March 16th.

make

make uſe of an unavailing deſpair, and threw down their arms: All then ſurrendered at diſcretion. The King, in private, reſpected the ſpirit, and pardoned* the prejudices of the regiments, though he exclaimed in public againſt both. He removed a few of the officers, and inflicted no further puniſhment upon the regiments, than to take from them the power of doing miſchief, by ſending them to their original place of deſtination. Soon after, he tranſported the other diſaffected troops likewiſe into Flanders: Politic contrivances, which turned that animoſity of ſpirit againſt the enemies of Britain, which, if left to corrode at home, might have recoiled upon herſelf. 1689.

This mutiny produced a law, which made an important innovation in the Engliſh conſtitution, to wit, the act for puniſhing mutiny and deſertion: A law which gave a legal ſanction to the eſtabliſhment of ſtanding armies, which had been hitherto rather overlooked than acknowledged by parliament. This act, limited to the ſpace of one year, has ever ſince been annually renewed; but, the renewal being almoſt conſidered as a matter of courſe, the form ſerves only to keep the people in mind that ſtanding armies were deemed illegal by their anceſtors. This produces the mutiny act.

The mutiny of the Scotch regiments made the deeper impreſſion in England, becauſe it was thought to portend ſimilar diſcontents in the reſt of their countrymen: For that reaſon, all eyes became now intent upon the enſuing Scottiſh convention, which was to determine whether England and Scotland were to obey the ſame Sovereign, or if hoſtilities were to be renewed between the two countries, which had involved both in blood for ſix centuries.

* In the books of privy council, 26th September 1689, there is a pardon to the officers.

PART I. BOOK VIII.

1689. Heads of party in Scotland on the Prince's ſide.

Of thoſe who had offered their ſervices to William, for the ſettlement of Scotland, three were eminent above the reſt: The Duke of Hamilton, the Marquis of Athole, and Lord Stair. The Duke of Hamilton had diſapproved of the meaſures of the late reign, but without publicly oppoſing them: He had obſerved the ſame cautious conduct with regard to the parties of his countrymen: He took advantage of his rank *, to attend none of thoſe public cabals in which all party meaſures had been conducted in Scotland, from the time of the tables of the covenant; and, by that ſingularity, appeared to be of no party, at the time when he was dealing in private with all parties. Son of the illuſtrious houſe of Douglas, married to the heireſs of the houſe of Hamilton; related to the royal family, and to moſt of the crowned heads of Europe; in ſucceſſion in right of his wife to the crown of Scotland at a time when the ancient families of Scotland were of importance in the ſcale of government, becauſe they were of importance in their own country; his pre-eminence was ſeen by William, and perhaps feared. He had been intruſted with none of the ſecrets of the revolution from the ambiguity of his conduct. Yet he took a violent ſide againſt King James upon his firſt retreat, but made apologies † to that Prince's friends, as ſoon as he heard of his return. William, therefore, affected to ſhew him the higheſt honours, cajoling him by thoſe arts which the Duke was in uſe to employ upon others. From hence, and from the vanity of pre-eminence, he had conſented to preſide in the aſſembly at London, which offered the Prince the adminiſtration of government: And hence, William gave him all the influence of the court, to be preſident of that convention, which was to make the offer of govern-

* Lord Balcarras. † Ibid.

ment

ment itſelf. The Marquis of Athole was a ſubject of great conſequence, becauſe his eſtate and power lay in the heart of the highlands. He had concurred in all the meaſures of the two royal brothers, and had been loaded with favours and honours by both. Yet, upon news of James's retreat, he flew, from reſtleſſneſs of temper, more than from principle, to London, while Scotland was ſtill in diſquiet; reſolved, amid contending Princes, to make the beſt terms for himſelf. He almoſt alone, of all thoſe who went to London to offer their ſervice to the Prince of Orange, returned home diſcontented; becauſe his views had been too ſanguine, and becauſe he was aſhamed of what he had done. His repentance he made offer of to the friends of James in Scotland, which was received, and thanked in public*, but in ſecret diſtruſted. Lord Stair had none of the external advantages of the other two. Yet, from great reach of thought, and thorough knowledge of men and parties, gained from experience, he came to be a conſiderable figure in party. When the civil war broke out, he commanded a troop of dragoons in the parliament's ſervice. After the death of Charles the Firſt, he gave himſelf up entirely to the love of letters; but, weary of a life, in whoſe ſolitary charms he found not all the enjoyments he expected, he longed to be in the world again: He applied himſelf therefore to the profeſſion of the law, and was made a judge by Cromwell. Upon the reſtoration, he attached himſelf to the Duke of Lauderdale: The furies of that miniſter† he often moderated, and often oppoſed, openly when he could, ſecretly when he could not; yet ſtill preſerved his friendſhip. After enduring many years the loſs of his rank and his country, from the injuſtice of the Duke of York, he, at the age

* Lord Balcarras.

† Viſcount of Stair's apology for himſelf.

PART I. BOOK VIII. 1689.

of 70, assumed again his long-neglected sword and cuirass, and came over with the Prince of Orange, who was so fond of him, that he carried him * in his own ship. The influence of Lord Stair in party was increased by that of his son Sir John Dalrymple, a man distinguished above all by the beauty of his person and the power of his eloquence. To the wisdom and experience of the father, to the parts and shew of the son, rather than to the power of the Duke of Hamilton, William, certain that the two former could never hope to be pardoned by James, resolved to leave the management of Scotland in the end; but, in the mean time, to make advantage of the Duke's offers of service for the settlement of his country.

On the side of James.

Of all those nobles whom James, when Duke of York, had honoured with his friendship, and when King graced with his favours, a few only continued openly in his interest: Of these the chief were the Duke of Gordon, a Roman catholic, to whom James had intrusted the castle of Edinburgh, a man weak, and wavering in courage, but bound by shame and religion; Lord Balcarras, attached by affection, gratitude, and that delicacy of sentiment which the love of letters commonly inspires; and Lord Dundee, who had for ever before his eyes ideas of glory, the duty of a soldier, and the example of the great Montrose, from whose family he was descended. James had intrusted the care of his civil concerns in Scotland to Balcarras, and of his military ones to Dundee. William asked both to enter into his service. Dundee refused without ceremony. Balcarras confessed the trust which had been put in him, and asked the King, If, after that, he could enter into the service of another? William generously answered, "I cannot

* Crawford's peerage.

"say

"ſay that you can:" But added, "Take care that "you fall not within the law; for otherwiſe I ſhall be "forced againſt my will to let the law overtake you *." The other nobles of the late King's party waited for events, in hopes and in fears from the old government and the new, intriguing with both, and depended upon by neither.

Great ſpirit of intrigue in Scotland.

Nor was the ſpirit of intrigue confined to the adherents of James; it affected equally † both parties, in a country far from the ſeat of government, upon that account expoſed to uncertain rumours, and only beginning to feel its own importance, after it had long loſt the idea of it: The nation diſtruſted the great, and the great each other. Even the moſt open attachments became ſuſpicious, on account of the diviſions in politics between fathers and their ſons: For while the Duke of Queenſberry, the Marquis of Athole, and Lord Arran, maintained connections with James; Lord Drumlanrig, Lord Murray, and the Duke of Hamilton, appeared violent in the ſervice of his rival.

The Scotch convention meets, conſiſting almoſt entirely of whigs.

The convention met on the 14th of March. As the governing part of the boroughs had been modelled by King James, the members ſent up from thence ſhould have been favourable to his intereſts. But Lord Stair ‡, whoſe views were extenſive, had taken care, in the paper which contained the offer of adminiſtration to the Prince, to recommend that the borough-elections ſhould be made by a general poll of the burgeſſes; an artifice which, while it took the blame of innovation off the Prince, prepared the way for ſecuring the elections to the whigs and preſbyterians. The parties at the convention firſt tried their ſtrengths in the choice of a preſident. The Duke of Ha-

* MS. memoirs, written by the late Lord Balcarras.

† General M'Kay's MS correſpondence with Lord Portland and K. William. ‡ Lord Balcarras.

milton

PART I. BOOK VIII.

1689.

milton was set up by the new, the Marquis of Athole by the old court: A singular situation, where both candidates were distrusted, both by those who recommended, and by those who elected them. The former was preferred by 40 votes out of about 150 voters: A victory which, from the nature of the human mind, determined the wavering. A committee of elections was next named, consisting of nine whigs and three tories. Sir John Dalrymple, who was an able lawyer, found it easy to start objections to the returns of the opposite party, and to remove those which were made against his own. The committee in the house followed his opinions, because the necessity of the times was made the excuse of partiality. The Duke of Hamilton, respecting the dignity of his situation in the convention, refused his countenance to some of these proceedings, but in vain; for he was soon made sensible, that he was joined with a party which was resolved not to stand upon ceremony, when the public interest was at stake *. Yet one instance of disinterestedness was respected even by those who blamed its intention: The Earl of Hume held most of his estate by a tenure which excluded a peer: Hence he had waved his privilege, and was returned as a commoner: But some objections being made to the forms of his election; "Well," said he, "if I am not permitted to give my voice in the cause "of my country as a commoner, I will give it on a title "to which nobody can object;" crossed the hall, and took his seat on the Earls bench †.

Letters from the late and present King.

When the convention sat down, two letters were presented, one from the present, and another from the late King of England. The convention read both; but first passed an act, that nothing contained in the last of them

* Vide a letter from Secretary Stair to the Duke of Hamilton, Jan. 13, 1691, to be hereafter printed.

† Lord Balcarras.

should

ſhould diſſolve their aſſembly, or ſtop their proceeding to the ſettlement of the nation. James's letter was written in the terms of a conqueror and a prieſt; threatening the convention with puniſhment in this world, and damnation in the next: And, as it was counterſigned by Lord Mellfort, a papiſt, and a miniſter abhorred by the Preſbyterians, the ſtyle and the ſignature hurt equally the intereſt which the letter was intended to ſerve. No anſwer was given. William's letter, on the contrary, was anſwered in ſtrains of gratitude and reſpect; a diſtinction which ſufficiently ſhewed what was to be expected from the future reſolutions of the aſſembly. In order to give the greater mark of attention, Lord Roſs was diſpatched to London with the anſwer.

They anſwer the latter, not the former.

The convention, then, with that impetuoſity which makes part of the character of their nation, in the courſe of a few days, iſſued a proclamation, ordering all men, from ſixteen to ſixty, to be ready in arms when called for; arrayed and armed the militias of the ſouthern counties, and gave the command of them to thoſe on whom they could rely; levied troops, accepted the offers of zealous whigs to raiſe more, and impoſed taxes for the ſupport of both. Not contented with ſecuring quiet within the kingdom, they made proviſion againſt attacks from without. For they ſent arms and ammunition to the proteſtants in the North of Ireland, who were moſtly their countrymen; and, upon a report that an invaſion was threatened from that kingdom, erected beacons on the high grounds, ordered the cattle to be driven from the coaſts on ſight of a fleet from thence, laid an embargo upon ſhips going there without their permiſſion, and directed the ſheriffs to ſeize all whom they found in arms without authority: The Duke of Hamilton was alſo empowered to ſecure *all ſuſpected perſons*; indefinite words, which conferred a dictatorial power upon him. With the

Their vigorous meaſures.

PART I. BOOK VIII. 1689.

ſame rapidity they approved the addreſs made by their countrymen at London to the Prince of Orange; and named a committee for ſettling the government, of which the only perſon ſuſpected by the whigs was the Marquis of Athole *.

Attempts to diſturb the convention.

In the mean time, Lord Balcarras and Lord Dundee endeavoured to interrupt the convention itſelf, ſince they could not ſtop its proceedings. They, for ſome time, prevented the Duke of Gordon from treating with the convention to ſurrender the caſtle; and, when he conſented to a treaty, they contrived † to entangle him ſo much in adjuſting the terms of it, that the convention proclaimed him a traitor, with all the forms of the heralds, under the walls of his own fortreſs. The Duke anſwered, with ſome ſpirit, "That the heralds ought "not to proſcribe the King's governor, with the King's "livery on their ſhoulders." Balcarras, but ſtill more Dundee, then urged him to fire upon the city, in order to diſſolve the convention: And, when he refuſed, they formed a plan to diſtract the convention, by ſummoning a new one to meet at Stirling; an expedient which they, with the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, by a ſpecial commiſſion from James, had a power to make uſe of. And they prevailed upon Lord Marr, who was governor of the caſtle of Stirling, and the Marquis of Athole, to attend them in this ſervice. But, when the day for quitting Edinburgh approached, theſe two lords were ſeized with a terror which they had had not felt when the danger was at a diſtance. The one aſked a delay; the other divulged the ſecret, that he might not be obliged to aſk one. Dundee, enraged at his enemies, and ſtill more at his friends, reſolved to retire to the highlands, and to make preparations for civil war, but with ſecreſy; for he had been or-

* Balcarras. Record of Scotch convention. Gazettes.

† Record of Scotch convention, March 15, 1689. Balcarras.

dered

dered by James to make no public inſurrection until aſſiſtance ſhould be ſent him from Ireland *.

1689. Dundee retires from the convention.

Whilſt Dundee was in this temper, information was brought him, whether true or falſe is uncertain, that ſome of the covenanters had aſſociated themſelves to aſſaſſinate him, in revenge for his former ſeverities † againſt their party. He flew to the convention, and demanded juſtice. The Duke of Hamilton, who wiſhed to get rid of a troubleſome adverſary, treated his complaint with neglect; and, in order to ſting him in the tendereſt part, reflected upon that courage which could be alarmed by imaginary dangers. Dundee left the houſe in a rage, mounted his horſe, and with a troop of 50 horſemen, who had deſerted ‡ to him from his regiment in England, galloped through the city. Being aſked by one of his friends, who ſtopt him, Where he was going? He waved his hat, and is reported to have anſwered, "Wherever the ſpirit of "Montroſe ſhall direct me." In paſſing under the walls of the caſtle, he ſtopt, ſcrambled up the precipice at a place difficult and dangerous, and held a conference with the Duke of Gordon, at a poſtern gate, the marks of which are ſtill to be ſeen, though the gate itſelf is built up. Hoping, in vain, to infuſe the vigour of his own ſpirit into the Duke, he preſſed him to retire with him into the highlands, raiſe his vaſſals there, who were numerous, brave, and faithful, and leave the command of the caſtle to Winram the Lieutenant Governor, an officer on whom Dundee could rely. The Duke concealed his timidity under the excuſe of a ſoldier. "A ſoldier," ſaid he, "cannot in honour quit the poſt that is aſſigned him." The novelty of the ſight drew numbers to the foot of the rock upon which the conference was held. Theſe numbers every minute increaſed; and, in the end, were miſ-

* Lord Balcarras.

† General M Kay's manuſcript memoirs, written by himſelf.

‡ Ibid.

PART I. BOOK VIII. 1689.

taken in the city for Dundee's adherents. The convention was then ſitting: News were carried thither that Dundee was at the gates with an army, and had prevailed upon the governor of the caſtle to fire upon the town *.

Uſe which the Duke of Hamilton makes of it.

The Duke of Hamilton, whoſe intelligence was better, had the preſence of mind, by improving the moment of agitation, to overwhelm the one party, and provoke the other, by their fears. He ordered the doors of the houſe to be ſhut, and the keys to be laid on the table before him. He cried out, "There was danger "within as well as without doors: That traitors muſt "be held in confinement until the preſent danger was "over: But that the friends of liberty had nothing "to fear; for that thouſands were ready to ſtart up in "their defence at the ſtamp of his foot." He ordered the drums to beat, and the trumpets to ſound through the city. In an inſtant, vaſt ſwarms of thoſe who had been brought into town, by him and Sir John Dalrymple, from the weſtern counties, and who had been hitherto hid in garrets and cellars, ſhewed themſelves in the ſtreets, not indeed in proper habiliments of war, but in arms, and with looks fierce and ſullen, as if they felt diſdain at their former concealment. This unexpected ſight increaſed the noiſe and tumult of the town, which grew loudeſt in the ſquare adjoining to the houſe where the members were confined; and appeared ſtill louder to thoſe who were within, becauſe they were ignorant of the cauſe from which the tumult aroſe, and caught contagion from the anxious looks of each other. After ſome hours, the doors were thrown open, and the whig-members, as they went out, were received with the acclamations, and thoſe of the oppoſite party, with the threats and curſes, of a prepared populace. Terrified by the proſpect of future

* Record of Scotch convention, March 8.

alarms,

alarms, many of the adherents of James quitted the convention, and retired to the country: More of them changed ſides: Only a very few of the moſt reſolute continued their attendance *.

A momentary difference of opinion in the convention.

The whig party, thus left to themſelves, proceeded to ſettle the government. A momentary difference in opinion aroſe in private: The Duke of Hamilton, becauſe he was ſuſpected, preſſed with the more vehemence to ſettle the crown directly on William and Mary. Lord Stair and his ſon had long † thought that an union of the two kingdoms was the ſureſt way to aggrandize both. With this view Lord Stair had got William to recommend that meaſure ſtrongly in his letter to the convention. And now he and his ſon, together with Lord Tarbet, counſelled their countrymen to make the ſettlement of the crown and the union of the kingdoms go hand in hand. To the whigs they argued, "That, in the preſent diſ-"treſſed and diſtracted ſtate of England, Scotland would "obtain better terms than ſhe could expect at any other "period." To the friends of James they got it ſuggeſted, "That the adjuſtment of the terms of the union "would prolong the ſettlement of the crown; and that "they ought to return to the convention, in order to em-"barraſs that ſettlement by loading it with a project not "dangerous to their party, becauſe inextricable by the "other." But the friends of James, having learnt from whence the ſuggeſtion came, avoided to give their concurrence on account of the ſuggeſters; and the more keen preſbyterians refuſed to liſten to an union with a people who yielded to prelacy. Lord Stair and his ſon ſaw all the conſequences of ſplitting their own party, and relinquiſhed a project, which, at a more fortunate period, the laſt of theſe perſons renewed with better ſucceſs.

* Balcarras. Gazette, April 1. Record of Scotch convention.

† Balcarras. Gazette, April 4.

PART I. BOOK VIII.

1689.

The convention declares James forfeited.

The revolution in England was brought about by a coalition of whigs and tories; but in Scotland by the whigs almoſt alone. Hence, the Scottiſh convention, inſtead of amuſing themſelves with ſchool diſputes about words, which, while they diſcovered the fine lines of party in England, had embarraſſed the Engliſh convention, ſtruck their blow without ceremony, and came to a reſolution, that King James had, by his evil deeds, *forfaulted* his right to the crown; a term which, in the language of the law of Scotland, involved in it the excluſion of all his poſterity as well as his own. But, as this reſolution would have comprehended the other children of James, as well as the young Prince, they agreed upon the following explanation of the word *forfaulted* *: "Agreed, that "the word *forfault*, in the reſolution, ſhould imply no "other alteration in the ſucceſſion to the crown, than the "ſecluſion of King James, the pretended Prince of "Wales, and the children that ſhall be procreated of ei-"ther of their bodies." Only five oppoſed theſe reſolutions. One of the five was Sir George M'Kenzie, who had been removed from the ſtation of Lord Advocate, when Sir John Dalrymple was placed in it by Lord Sunderland. Sir John Dalrymple concluded the debate with a force and a ſplendour of eloquence, the fame of which is lively to this day among the aged in Scotland; exhibiting an example to Kings, either not to trample upon their ſubjects, or not to put themſelves afterwards in their power.

And ſettle the crown on William and Mary;

The convention next made offer of the crown to William and Mary: A vote in which the Duke of Queenſberry and the Marquis of Athole concurred, although they had refuſed to be preſent at the other. They reconciled their conduct by ſaying, "That, ſince the throne

* Record of Scotch convention, 4th April.

"was

" was declared vacant by the nation, they knew none ſo " worthy to fill it as the Prince and Princeſs of Orange :" A mixture of ſentiment, intended to pleaſe both Kings, but which, like moſt compliments of the kind, pleaſed neither. From an exceſs of zeal which betrayed the cauſe of it, the Duke of Hamilton demeaned himſelf to act the part of a clerk; reading, at the ordinary place of proclamation, the act of convention aloud to the mean multitude, who found even their own vanity hurt in the ſacrifice which was made to it by the firſt man in the nation *. With more dignity the parliament accompanied the offer of the crown with ſuch a declaration of rights, as laid open all the invaſions upon the conſtitution, not of the late King alone, but of his brother, and aſcertained every diſputed pretenſion between the crown and the ſubject: For, accuſtomed either to trample upon their ſovereigns, or to be trampled upon by them, the Scottiſh nation choſe to leave nothing to be adjuſted afterwards by the vibration between the executive and legiſlative powers, which had kept the Engliſh conſtitution almoſt continually in a juſt medium, between the imperiouſneſs of the crown and the licentiouſneſs of the ſubject. The Earl of Argyle for the peers, Sir James Montgomery for the knights, and Sir John Dalrymple for the boroughs, were ſent to London with the offer of the crown.

and make their declaration of rights more comprehenſive than that of England.

After this ſentence of forfeiture againſt ſo great a part of the Scottiſh royal line, a ſudden damp ſtruck many of thoſe who had pronounced it, in a nation accuſtomed to ſervility during the laſt forty years, and ſcarcely daring to feel itſelf free. But ſome letters intercepted from Lord Mellfort ſuſpended all returns of pity to James: In one of theſe to Lord Dundee, Mellfort ſaid, " You will aſk no " doubt how we ſhall be able to pay our armies: But can

Letters from Lord Mellfort intercepted.

* Lord Balcarras.

" you

PART I. BOOK VIII. 1689.

" you aſk ſuch a queſtion while our enemies, the rebels, " have eſtates to be forfeited? We will begin with the " great, and end with the ſmall ones." Another to Lord Balcarras contained theſe words: " The eſtates of the " rebels will recompenſe us. You know there were ſe- " veral Lords whom we marked out, when you and I " were together, who deſerved no better fates; theſe will " ſerve as examples to others:" Words the more alarming, becauſe the perſons alluded to were not named: Hence, great terrors were felt by many, and pretended to be felt by more. The whig party aſſumed merit, becauſe they were the objects of theſe threats; individuals entering into competitions concerning the degrees of the dangers they were expoſed to, and the Duke of Hamilton claiming pre-eminence beyond all others. Nor were ſundry of the adherents of James without their anxieties: For the conſciouſneſs even of defection in their hearts, when it had not appeared in their deeds, alarmed them ſecretly with ſuſpicions, leſt their looks had been ſtudied, and their domeſtic converſations betrayed. After the letters were read to the convention, the Duke of Hamilton, preſident of the aſſembly, riſing up, cried out with an impetuous voice, " You hear, you hear, my Lords and " Gentlemen, our ſentence pronounced. We muſt take " our choice, to die, or to defend ourſelves." Words more perſuaſive than the moſt artificial rhetoric *.

William's behaviour at taking the coronation oath.

James was not more leſſened in the eyes of the Scotch by theſe letters, than his rival was raiſed by an accident which happened at his taking the coronation oath. The

* The adherents of the Stuart family have always maintained, that theſe letters were forgeries. It is plain from the printed memoirs of Lord Balcarras, that he believed them to be authentic. I have conſulted the books of privy council and the records of convention to get light; but can find none. In King William's cabinet there is a commiſſion from King James to the Earl of Seaforth, dated 30th Nov. 1689, containing expreſſions ſimilar to thoſe of Melfort's letters; but it is only a copy.

admi-

adminiſtration of the coronation oath of Scotland was a ceremony attended with much awe; the King holding up his right hand high, whilſt he ſwore, and repeating each word with ſlowneſs after the perſon who read it. It contained a clauſe, that the King ſhould root out heretics. At theſe words, William ſtopt the Earl of Argyle, who was adminiſtering the oath, and declared, he did not mean to oblige himſelf to become a perſecutor. The commiſſioners anſwering, that ſuch was not the meaning of the oath: "Then," ſaid the King, "I take it "in that ſenſe only." Whether this ſcruple was the effect of affectation or of delicacy is immaterial: It became a King, for it pleaſed the people.

The panic of a maſſacre ariſes in Ireland.

Whilſt theſe events in England and Scotland were the reſult of deſigns deeply laid and ably conducted, their effects in Ireland were in a great meaſure committed to chance. The pains which Lord Tyrconnel had long beſtowed in modelling his army, the known violence of his temper, the inſolence of the Roman catholics in proſperity, ſome indiſcreet expreſſions which had fallen from their prieſts*, the more alarming from the low condition of the men who uttered them, and above all, the cuſtom, almoſt habitual to the Iriſh proteſtants, of ſeeing Iriſh maſſacres in imagination, had, in the month of November, ſpread the panic of a maſſacre amongſt all the proteſtants of the north. Even the particular day, the 9th of December, was believed to have been fixed for execution. Whence the rumour originally took its riſe, no one could tell: For there was no diſtinguiſhing what fear only ſuggeſted, from what had been invented or repeated. After the rumour had been propagated for ſome weeks with a ſecret horror, it blazed ſuddenly forth in the county of Down. Lord Mount-

* M'Kenzie, p. 3. and 48.

Alexander,

PART I. BOOK VIII. 1689.

Alexander, upon the 3d of December, received an anonymous letter, warning him to provide for his safety. The letter was written, as appeared from its ſtyle *, by one of the loweſt of the people. Nothing appeared to confirm the tidings it bore. But, for that very reaſon, all were ſtruck with the deeper panic. They reaſoned, "How deep and how well laid muſt a ſcheme be, of "which we are unable to diſcover even the traces." All inquiry was drowned in the cries of women and children. The letter was every where received as an indiſputable proof of the general report. It was ſent inſtantly †, by expreſſes, to the neighbouring towns, and to Dublin; and from Dublin it was communicated to all parts of the kingdom.

Revolt of Londonderry, and manner of it.

During this ferment, twelve popiſh companies, amounting to full 1200 men, were ſent to take quarters in the proteſtant town of Londonderry. By accident, no previous intimation of their deſtination had been ſent to the town. Three days before the time which was imagined to have been fixed for the maſſacre, the troops reſted at Newton Limaviday, a village half a day's march from Londonderry. Tyrconnel, from the facility of finding recruits in a country full of people and fond of war, had raiſed ſeveral regiments of men who were ſix feet high ‡: The ſoldiers of theſe twelve companies were of that ſtature. A huge troop of women and children followed them; as was the cuſtom of a ſocial and idle people. In the tumult of quartering, ſome diſorders were committed by the ſoldiers. The inhabitants complained ‖ to Mr. Philips, the proprietor of the village, and their paſſions exaggerated the objects of their complaints. As it is natural for the human mind to be inflamed by thoſe who appear inflamed themſelves, the

* M'Kenzie, p. 3. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. p. 2. ‖ Walker, p. 7.

imagi-

imagination of Mr. Philips increaſed the importance of the circumſtances that were related to him. He immediately ſent an expreſs, in the night-time, with a letter* to the inhabitants of Londonderry, which deſcribed the appearance and manners of the men, and informed them of his ſuſpicions, that they were deſtined for their deſtruction: A ſhort time before, another expreſs had been diſpatched for that town† from Belfaſt, with a copy of the anonymous letter which Lord Mount-Alexander had received. Upon the arrival of this laſt meſſenger, who came in the evening, a report ſpread through the town, that he brought bad news; but, as nobody could learn what theſe were, a fear, heightened by uncertainty, ſeized all. Next morning, whilſt the people were convened to hear the contents of Lord Mount-Alexander's letter, the meſſenger from Mr. Philips arrived‡. So that the two letters were read almoſt together. Immediately after, ſucceſſive informations were communicated to thoſe who were in the more diſtant parts of the aſſembly, and by them inſtantly ſpread through the reſt, that the troops were preparing to march, had marched, were approaching, and that officers were arrived to demand admittance for the corps which followed them. The graver citizens, and thoſe of better ranks, accounting reſiſtance vain‖, declared their opinions for admitting the troops. But the younger part of the aſſembly, and thoſe of meaner condition, whoſe paſſions, both from nature and habit, are always violent, cried out, "The "very ſtature of the men, the fullneſs of the com-"panies, ſhewed they were intended for ſome deadly "purpoſe. Their women and children followed, in "expectation of finding that pleaſure in plunder, which

* Walker, p. 7. † Ibid. ‡ M'Kenzie, p. 3.
‖ Walker, p. 7. M'Kenzie, p. 4.

PART I. BOOK VIII. 1689.

"their husbands and fathers were to enjoy in blood."* While this dispute was carrying on, the troops had halted within sight of the town, to wait for the return of their officers: And at length, becoming tired with waiting, and irritated by the affront of delay, they marched up to the town. But, when they came within an hundred yards of the walls, nine youths* rushed forth from their companions, pulled up the draw-bridge, shut the gates, and drew the bars. Animated at the sight of the action, others flew to seize the guard-room, to break open the magazine, to distribute the arms: The rest promiscuously commanding and commanded, placed centinels on the walls, pointed what miserable cannon they found there, and returned a defiance. On the behaviour of these nine youths turned the fate of Ireland, and perhaps of King James; and therefore their service is the more worthy of commemoration.

The revolt spreads through Ulster.

Roused by this example, the inhabitants of Inniskilling, a few days after, rose against their magistrates, refused admittance to Tyrconnel's troops, and wrote† to the inhabitants of Londonderry, proposing mutual assistance for mutual defence. The spirit of resistance in these two towns was, in a few days, communicated to all the protestant inhabitants of the northern counties. In the province of Ulster, the people of the counties of Down, Antrim, Ardmagh, Moneghan, Derry, Donnegal, and Tyrrhone, assembled separately‡, chose each a general, and a council for the defence of each separate county, and appointed a general council of union at Hillsborough, for the common interest of all. These councils raised regiments, made other preparations for defence, and wrote secretly to England to implore protection from the Prince of Orange.

* M'Kenzie, p. 4. † Ibid. p. 45. and 49. ‡ Ibid. p. 11.

But,

1689.

But, while the Prince was obſerving wiſe and provident meaſures for the ſettlement of England and Scotland, he left Ireland entirely neglected. He would ſcarce liſten * to the accounts brought from that country, or ſee thoſe who brought them. He received with coldneſs all ſchemes for the ſpeedy relief of the proteſtant intereſt there. He ſent no troops from England into Ireland. Inſtead of ſtationing any part of the Engliſh fleet to guard and overawe that kingdom, he laid it up under Lord Dartmouth in the Medway; not daring either to truſt him with the charge of the fleet, or to diſcover his diſtruſt of him, by giving it to another. And, inſtead of taking any ſoothing meaſures to gain Tyrconnel, the Lord Lieutenant, to his intereſt, or vigorous ones to frighten him from aſſerting thoſe of James, he contented himſelf with ſending over Colonel Hamilton, one of Tyrconnel's friends, the ſame man who had attended James in his barge to Rocheſter, to ſummon Tyrconnel to ſubmit to the preſent adminiſtration. Hamilton betrayed his truſt, and adviſed him to refuſe obedience. Tyrconnel remained long in ſuſpenſe between his hopes and his fears from both princes, and perhaps not without ſome views, from the irregularity of his ambition, of erecting an eſtabliſhment for himſelf, independent of both. His uncertainty was encreaſed by his receiving no orders from James, whoſe letters were either intercepted, or who neglected Ireland, like the Prince. During this period Tyrconnel amuſed the Prince with promiſes, but ſtill avoided to fulfil them. At length James having, upon the 12th of January, wrote him a letter, in which he promiſed to land ſoon in Ireland with a great French force, his reſolutions became fixed. But pretending ſtill a conflict between the duties of a citizen, and the honour

The Prince of Orange's neglect of Ireland.

Tyrconnel amuſes him;

* Clarendon's Diary, paſſim.

PART I. BOOK VIII. 1689.

of a ſoldier, he declared his opinion to the chief men of the proteſtant party, that Ireland ought to be ſurrendered, but that he could not do it without that Prince's permiſſion who had committed the charge of it to him; and ſent Lord Mountjoy, who was looked upon as the head of the proteſtant intereſt, to James, to ſatisfy him, that Ireland was incapable of defence: A ſtratagem which both gained time, and freed Tyrconnel from a troubleſome opponent. Mountjoy had no ſooner departed, than Tyrconnel gave orders for raiſing twenty new popiſh regiments, of 1000 men each; and, when Mountjoy arrived in Paris, he was immediately committed to the Baſtile.

but prepares to defend Ireland.

State of Ireland.

Whilſt there were doubts of Tyrconnel's intentions, the proteſtants, uncertain of events in England, and diſcouraged by the inattention of the Prince of Orange, aſſumed a ſimilar ambiguity of conduct. The northern counties publiſhed declarations, that their aſſociations were only intended in ſelf-defence againſt the dangers of a maſſacre. The inhabitants of Londonderry * wrote apologies for what had paſſed, to be communicated to Tyrconnel, and even to be ſent into England. They publiſhed a declaration † full of loyalty to King James before they knew he had retired, praying for long dominion to a Prince who had already reſigned it.

But, when they heard of Lord Mountjoy's fate, ſaw new popiſh regiments raiſing every where, and underſtood that moſt of the commiſſions were given to officers ‡ who agreed to aſk no pay for their men; a declaration that their ſubſiſtence was to ariſe from the miſeries of their opponents; the parties of proteſtants and papiſts declared a-new, and openly, their mutual jealouſies: The one expreſſed their ſuſpicions left former cruelties ſhould

* M'Kenzie, p. 18. † Walker, p. 41. ‡ Ibid.

be repeated; the other were conſcious of merited revenge for late injuries; and both * of them gave and received terrors by turns. Many of the rich and of the weaker ſex, removed † their perſons and their effects to ſtrong places, and into Scotland and England. The ſight of their own numbers ‡, when they met in thoſe places, or on the ſhores, increaſed, by the contagion of ſympathy, the fear which each individual had brought along with him. But the minds of thoſe who remained at home were ſtill more agitated: For, in ſeveral towns, agreements ‖ were made to receive garriſons compoſed equally of the forces of each party: A ſtate of neutrality full of ſuſpenſe and of jealouſy, and even more dreadful to the garriſons, and to the towns poſſeſſed by them, than all the ſufferings of actual war.

Cauſes of the Prince's neglect of Ireland.

The Prince's neglect of Ireland was variouſly accounted for: Thoſe who looked for political views in all his meaſures, imputed it to an opinion which Lord Halifax had ſuggeſted, that nothing could impel the Engliſh ſo much to a ſpeedy ſettlement of England, as a proſpect of the unſettled condition of Ireland §. Thoſe who ſaw only malignant ends in all his actions, exclaimed, after his advancement to the throne, "That he had "encouraged the Iriſh to rebel, in order to procure an "opportunity of enriching, by their forfeitures, the "followers of his fortunes." But people who judged with leſs refinement, and therefore probably with more truth, drew apologies for the Prince's conduct, from the credit which he gave to the aſſurances of Tyrconnel, his own opinion that the provinces of England would eaſily follow the fate of the kingdom to which they belonged, the diſgrace which an unſucceſsful attempt might bring

* Walker, p. 9. M'Kenzie, p. 10. † Gazette, March 6, and April 20. ‡ Judge Keeling's letter in Archbiſhop King, p. 347. ‖ M'Kenzie, p. 9. § Vide Appendix to former Book.

upon

PART I. BOOK VIII.

1689.

upon his new adminiſtration, and perhaps ſome diſtruſt of ſeamen and ſoldiers who had ſo lately ſhewn ſo little ſteadineſs to their own maſter. Sir William Temple's ſon, ſecretary at war, who had engaged to the Prince for the ſucceſs and fidelity of Colonel Hamilton, thought it his duty, ſome time after, by a voluntary death, to take the blame off the Prince, and throw it upon himſelf: A young gentleman of the fineſt accompliſhments, happy in the poſſeſſion of a woman he loved, and in high proſperity! He left behind him a note to this purpoſe: "My own imprudence in the Prince's ſervice, and the "hurt I have done it, are the cauſes of my death. I "wiſh him ſucceſs in all his undertakings, and a better "ſervant than I have proved *." A fate which, amid the great convulſions of ſtate, recalled the minds of men to the delicacies of honour in private perſons, and to the tender feelings of nature.

Mr. Temple's voluntary death to vindicate his maſter.

* Clarendon's Diary, April 19. Reresby, 46.

END OF PART FIRST.

PART II.

BOOK I.

STATE of Parties.——Of Holland.——Of Parliament.——Of the Court.——Oppoſition in Parliament.——The Whigs attack the Tories.——The King's Arts to remove Oppoſition.——Parſimony of Parliament.——It hurts Public Credit.——The King's grand Scheme for compoſing Differences diſappointed.——Cauſes of this Diſappointment.——His Breach with the Church.——Declaration of War againſt France.

State of parties.

WILLIAM was ſcarcely ſeated upon the throne when he experienced the truth of the maxim, That crowns are encircled with thorns. The adherents of the late King exclaimed, "That the Prince of "Orange had, under pretence of preſerving the con-"ſtitution, overturned it, broken faith with the na-"tion, and trampled upon the laws of God and of "man." William's ſucceſs, ſince his arrival in England, had been ſo rapid, that many of the tories, who had, in the torrent of national ſympathy, concurred in placing the crown upon his head, ſcarcely recollected

PART II. Book I. 1689.

till now, that they had, by their own votes, not only dethroned King James, but preferred the two Princeſſes, the Prince of Orange, and their iſſue, to his ſon; and * pretended they had only not oppoſed, rather than confeſſed they had promoted, events which they had not originally foreſeen. Moſt of the church were obliged, from pride, and a regard to conſiſtency of character, to appear diſcontented with the elevation of the Prince; ſeeing there were few clergymen who had not, in the pulpit, or in their writings, or in converſation, inveighed againſt the right of the ſubject to infringe the ſucceſſion to the crown upon any account whatever. The calviniſtical tenets, in which the Prince had been educated, the great number of diſſenters who attended him into England, the ſtill greater numbers which were ſeen plying at court, and the indiſcretion of both in accounting his victories to be their own, added the impulſes of jealouſy to thoſe of honour in the minds of the clergy. Of the ſeven biſhops who had been perſecuted by King James, only one, Lloyd of St Aſaph, waited on the new King. When Queen Mary ſent to aſk Sancroft's bleſſing, his anſwer was, "That ſhe muſt aſk her father's, for his "would not otherwiſe be heard in heaven." Even the ableſt men act more from paſt impreſſions, than from foreſight: The Prince had been accuſtomed, from his youth, to conſider the diſſenters as the friends of his family and country, and the church to be attached to thoſe Princes who were enemies to both: As ſoon therefore as he diſcovered the coldneſs of the clergy, it excited his reſentment, or ſuch a degree of diſtruſt and reſerve, as the jealouſy of party conſtrued

* Sir John Reresby and Clarendon's Diary, paſſim.

conſtrued into reſentment. From the paſt ſervices of the whigs, the King flattered himſelf with their future compliance with his will: But, fearing the loſs of their popularity, they reſolved to continue that jealouſy of the crown which their party had always entertained, and which they were now aſhamed to relinquiſh.

The King was teazed by the humours, as well as by the parties of his new ſubjects: The number of the great, who had ventured their lives and fortunes in the cauſe of the revolution, or whom it was of conſequence to conciliate to it, was ſo conſiderable, that it became impoſſible to gratify the expectations of the former, or to hold out ſufficient temptations to the latter. Hence ſome of them complained of the King's ingratitude, and others of his neglect. Thoſe who formed their ſentiments of regard or averſion upon manner, were diſguſted with that of the King. His natural inattention and reſerve, which aroſe partly from the extenſive foreign projects which were continually rolling in his thoughts, and partly from a thorough conviction of the ſelfiſhneſs of individuals who approached him, prevented his gaining thoſe perſons by complaiſance, who could not be gained by favours, or upon whom he had not favours to beſtow. The number of the diſcontented was increaſed by the return of pity, felt by ſome in a ſtronger, by others in a weaker degree, but felt by moſt in ſome degree, for the fate of the late King. Among the lower ranks of the nation, a national characteriſtic of the Engliſh inſtantly appeared. The populace of London took offence at the looks, the dreſs, and language of the Dutch troops; fancying all theſe to be ugly and mean,

PART II. Book I. 1689.

merely becauſe their eyes and ears had not been accuſtomed to them. They deſpiſed the modeſt air and parſimonious manners of the Dutch officers; they inſulted the ſoldiers, as all popular paſſions are contagious, even ſome who were of a rank * which ſhould have elevated them above aſſuming the tone of the populace, were betrayed into ſimilar ſentiments. The foreigners were at firſt uncertain what to think of ſuch treatment, from men who had invited them into their country, and who ſtyled them their deliverers; but at laſt, imputing it to national caprice or diſeaſe, they overlooked, or pretended to overlook it: A conduct which, whilſt it commanded the reſpect of the brave and the wiſe, made the abject and the weak imagine, that perſons who could bear ſuch contumelies, deſerved to ſuffer them.

William had not the reſources enjoyed by ſucceeding princes to overcome his difficulties. The revenues of the ſtate would appear inconſiderable, and the offices of government, of arms, and of revenue, few in number, and ſmall in profit, ſhould we compare them to thoſe of the preſent times. Beſides, men of family had, at that time, as much pride in living frugally, and beſtowing attention upon their private affairs, as their poſterity have now in diſregarding both. Hence the dependence upon government was ſlight, and individuals were left at liberty to follow their own principles, prejudices, and caprices.

State of Holland.

Amidſt the pomp of royalty, William found his happineſs poiſoned from a quarter which he little ſuſpected: His Dutch became as diſcontented as his Engliſh ſubjects. The French, in his abſence, having declared

* Sir John Reresby, page 319. et paſſim.

declared war againſt Holland, his own enemies and thoſe of his family exclaimed, "That while, for his own ſecurity, he kept the "Dutch army ſo long in "England, he left his country expoſed to the ven- "geance of France; and that he detained their fleet "with an intention to join it to that of the Engliſh, "and to uſe both in oppreſſing the liberties of Hol- "land, at a time when ſhe was defenceleſs within, "and threatened by a foreign enemy from without." Even the more moderate lamented, "That William's "abſence from Holland, and the attention to his du- "ties as the King of another country, could not fail "to draw off his mind from thoſe which he owed to "them as their Stadtholder." The rivalſhip and pride of nations aroſe in the minds of the Dutch. The popular cry was, "That Holland muſt expect to be "no more, for the future, than an appendage to Eng- "land." William, who was attached to his country- men with all the paſſion of a lover, felt how dearly a Prince pays for the dominion of another country, who runs a riſk of loſing the eſtimation of his own.

But, againſt all theſe difficulties, the King hoped to derive ſecurity, from his own ſpirit, from poſſeſſion, from that love of liberty which is natural to the Engliſh, and above all from their hereditary hatred of the people who had given refuge to his rival: For he, who had been all his life employed in managing the parties of a free ſtate, well knew, that popular govern- ments are conducted as often by the imaginations as by the intereſts of the people, and not more by the principles of union than by thoſe of antipathy: He therefore placed his chief ſecurity in the popular opinion, that his own ſupport was neceſſarily con- nected

PART II. Book I.

1689.

State of parliament.

nected with the humiliation, and that of the late King with the exaltation, of the natural enemy of England.

The ſtate of the convention, however, appeared to be a fortunate circumſtance for the King. Although, in the heat of the whig-victory, the members returned to the houſe of commons were the moſt violent of that party, and therefore naturally inclined to circumſcribe the power of the crown; yet, old and recent injuries, the conſciouſneſs that they could never be forgiven by the late King, and their pleaſure in having obtained the declaration of rights; all determined them to maintain the ſettlement of the crown itſelf. In the houſe of Lords, which, from former connections, was expected to retain prejudices for the abdicated family, the averſion of nobles to republican principles, with their own principle, that the power of the crown ſhould be ſupported, whoever wore it; but ſtill more, the terror of many, leſt they ſhould be called to account for their concurrence with royal meaſures in the two late reigns; gave hopes that the rights of the crown would be maintained even by thoſe who had ſcruples about the King's title. The excluſion of the popiſh Lords, the abſence of the non-juring biſhops and peers, the flight of ſome of James's ſervants into France with their maſter, and the impriſonment of others by the great council, or by the convention, were circumſtances which juſtified theſe hopes; becauſe they removed from the houſe of Lords moſt of the partiſans of the late King. Hence a moſt extraordinary ſtate of party appeared in this parliament, as long as it ſat. For, the aſſembly of commons, which had put the crown on William's head, oppoſed, and the

1689.

State of the court.

the assembly of Lords, which had endeavoured to keep it off, supported most of his measures.

In a country where the laws declare, that the King's ministers are responsible for his faults, all eyes were intent upon the choice which the King was to make of his ministry; and, for that reason, he was embarrassed. To mix whigs and tories together, men suspecting and suspected, hating and hated by each other, was full of difficulties. To trust his service to the tories alone, many of whom seemed averse to his title, appeared dangerous. To trust it to the whigs alone, was to declare himself the head of a party, and give countenance to a suspicion, that he intended to govern by those who had chiefly raised himself to government, and to proscribe all others from views of ambition. Gratitude, or rather the shame of appearing ungrateful, prevailed with William: He threw almost all power into the hands of the whigs; Lord Nottingham being almost the only notorious opposer of the King's elevation who was brought into administration. He and Lord Shrewsbury were appointed secretaries of state; the one from the remembrance of past, the other partly from views of future services, and partly to pay a compliment to the high-church party, with which he was connected. Upon the promotion of Nottingham, the tories complained, that they were all excluded from the participation of power, except one; and the whigs, that even one was admitted. By strange reverses of fortune, Burnet, who had been proscribed by the late King for libelling him, was made a bishop, and Sir Patience Ward was chosen one of the representatives in parliament, and * Pylkington Lord Mayor

* Gazette, March 22.

PART II. Book I. 1689.

Mayor of that city, in which the one had been pilloried, and in which the other had been condemned to pay L. 100,000, for an offence againſt the Duke of York, ſimilar to that of Burnet. The privy ſeal, which had been taken from Hallifax in the late reign, was reſtored to him, and Lord Danby placed at the head of the council board; arrangements which pleaſed neither the whigs nor the tories; not the former, becauſe theſe Lords had formerly humbled the whig cauſe; not the latter, becauſe they had lately overturned the tory one. But Danby, who wiſhed for his old ſtaff of Lord treaſurer, thought his ſervices ill requitted; and, to make him reparation, he was created Marquis of Caermarthen. In order to make room for ſuch perſons as had real merit in promoting the revolution, or whoſe pretenſions to merit it was thought prudent to admit, the treaſury, the admiralty, and even the chancery, were put into commiſſion. But the expedient was diſobliging even to ſome of the perſons who were honoured: For Lord Mordaunt and Admiral Herbert, the one in the Treaſury, the other in the Admiralty, complained that they only preſided, where they ought to have ſate alone. By ſome unaccountable accident in the arrangement of places, Lord Godolphin, who had been at the head of the treaſury in the reign of Charles the Second, and reduced to be chamberlain to the Queen upon the ſucceſſion of that Prince's brother, was appointed to no higher ſtation than that of a commiſſioner at the treaſury-board. But what pleaſed all, was the nomination of the judges: Each privy-counſellor was directed to bring in a liſt of twelve; and, from theſe liſts, the judges were ſelected; all men of abilities, and, which was no

leſs

leſs material for imprinting due reverence for law, in a nation governed by laws and not by will, men of high yet gracious manners. Military preferments were given to Lord Churchill, but not ſuited either to his ambition or to his avarice. No notice was taken of his lady; ſhe continued as uſual in the family of the Princeſs Anne: A ſituation ſeemingly of ſmall conſequence; but which, for that very reaſon, her pride and her ſpirit of intrigue determined her to convert into a great one. Lord Sunderland was, by the voice of all, excluded from every department of government; by ſome, becauſe he had ſerved King James; by others, becauſe he had betrayed him; and by a few, leſt they might appear to have been the partners of his treachery.

But, though Nottingham, Shrewſbury, Hallifax, and Danby, appeared the public miniſters of government, the King in ſecret put his real confidence at firſt, in friends more antiently and more ſincerely attached to him: and chiefly in Mr Sidney, and in Bentink, a native of Holland; the firſt of whom he created Lord Sidney, and the laſt Lord Portland. Nottingham, Hallifax, and Danby, imputing the want of the King's confidence to jealouſies inſtilled into him by each other, embarraſſed him by their mutual complaints, and his affairs by thwarting one another. Nottingham, however, made uſe of that advantage, which ſingularity of ſituation gives to every man of addreſs: Under the pretence of making his ſovereign acquainted with the detail of a conſtitution, to which it was no offence to ſuppoſe him a ſtranger *, he furniſhed William with a liſt of all the prerogatives of the crown, with their dependencies on each other; an artifice † by

* Burnet, 2. p. 3. & 14.

† Burnet, 2. p. 3.

PART II. Book I. 1689.

by which he intended to alienate the King's mind from that whig-party which had been accuſtomed to oppoſe the intereſts of prerogative: And to the leſſons of Nottingham, William willingly liſtened, from a vanity to preſerve that conſtitution unimpaired, which had been committed to his care; and, perhaps, alſo from the love of that power which men who cannot ſubmit to others are the fondeſt to poſſeſs. But Hallifax and Danby, diſcontented with their ſituation, and believing all others to be as diſcontented as themſelves, kept meaſures, and formed connections with the adherents of the old court; inſinuating to their own friends, that it was a prudent thing in others to follow their example. Sir John Rereſby relates, in his Memoirs, that Lord Hallifax and Lord Danby ſaid to him, the the one, "That wiſe men muſt not venture too far;" and the other, "That, if King James would quit his prieſts, he might ſtill retrieve his affairs." When ſuch men ſaid ſuch things, the allurements of a court were thrown out to others in vain. Many looked * aſide towards the old, at the very time they were receiving favours from the new eſtabliſhment. Hallifax even † avoided the titles and ribbons which others ſolicited, leſt honours conferred by one prince ſhould be turned into diſgraces by another. In this ſituation, the true lovers of their country ſaw, with foreboding minds, that all national exertions muſt be weak, looſe, and diſappointed, if not betrayed.

An oppoſition raiſed in parliament.

The effects of this diſunion in the nation, and in the King's councils, appeared in an oppoſition to the firſt meaſure which he propoſed. Truſting more to the compliance of the Lords, than to that of the commons, he had recommended to ſome peers to carry through

* Clarendon's Diary, and Rereſby, paſſim. † Rereſby, 349.

through the houſe of Lords, a bill which had been framed in council for converting the convention into a parliament: They obeyed, and the bill paſſed their houſe * without oppoſition. But, when they ſent it to the commons on the fourth day after William was proclaimed, a violent oppoſition, headed by Sir Edward Seymour, was made, under pretence, that a parliament could not aſſemble without the King's writ; and that, as the preſent convention had been called before the Prince of Orange received the crown, it was incapable of being converted into a parliament. The diſpute appeared on firſt view to regard forms only: But ſome of the tories meant to bring into doubt the King's title, by attacking the validity of that aſſembly which had conferred it; and others had in view, if a new parliament was called, to recover that ſuperiority in elections, which the whigs, in the firſt ferments upon the Prince of Orange's arrival, had obtained over them. However, the intereſt of individuals prevailed over thoſe of party in moſt of the tories. They knew, that a new election muſt be attended with a new expence to themſelves; they deſerted Seymour in his oppoſition, and the convention was converted into a parliament. Upon this, many perſons of diſcontented tempers, or who were attached to the late King, avoided to give attendance in parliament any longer.

Feb. 13.

An attack from the tories could be no great ſurpriſe to William; but he ſoon met with a ſucceſſion of chagrines, from that whig-party which had placed him upon the throne. The chief objects of government, both in their own importance, and in the King's mind, were the ſupport of Holland, attacked at that time by France, the reduction of Ireland, and the

and chiefly by the whigs.

 ſettlement

* Journal of the Houſe of Lords, 23d February.

PART II. Book I. 1689.

settlement of a revenue upon himself. And therefore, in the first speech which he made to the convention after he was proclaimed, he had recommended these capital objects to consideration: But he couched the last of them under the general expression of "A settlement at home." Instead of proceeding, however, as he wished, the commons, three days after, voted *, that the King should be desired to bestow a donative upon the foreign forces which were to leave the kingdom: An insinuation as plain as could be decently given, that their presence was no longer agreeable.

The whigs begin their attacks upon the tories.

And the same day, they began to make inquiries into the faults of the two late reigns, by ordering accounts to be made up, of the money expended upon prosecutions and secret services during that period. Soon after † they ranged the malversations of those reigns under seven different heads, and appointed a committee to inquire who had been guilty of them. They named another ‡ to prepare accusations, as it should think proper, against those adherents of the late King who were already in custody. And, to incite private persons to ask redress for the injuries they had suffered, they appointed a third to receive their complaints. Votes, by which, in the course of a few days, one half of the nation seemed to be set in battle-array against the other.

King's arts to remove opposition.

But, an opportunity presenting itself, for suspending the mutual animosities of parties, by means of their greater passion against a common enemy, the King embraced it. Having received intelligence, that the late King had sailed from Brest for Ireland, he communicated the news immediately to parliament; and taking advantage of a circumstance, that James had

* Journals House of Commons, Feb. 21. † Ibid. March 5.
‡ Ibid. March 6.

had with him a few French officers, added, that the invaſion was ſupported by a French force. At the ſound of the words, *French force*, all domeſtic animoſity ſeemed in an inſtant to ceaſe, and each vied with his neighbour, in manifeſting zeal for the new government, and rage againſt that foreign power which was attempting to overturn it; ſome being actuated by ſincerity, and others by a deſire to conceal the want of of it. But the former were, by far, the moſt numerous. For, in the reſtoration of King James, all the whigs dreaded puniſhment for what they had done, and moſt of the tories, for what they had neglected to do. Many of this laſt party, who held the rights of James's ſon to be ſacred, were averſe to his own perſon. Others, who diſliked the preſent King, were ſtill more averſe to receive another from France. And all trembled at the brink of the precipice, when they beheld before them the horrors of civil war, and the more dreadful horrors of revenge after it, which ever ſide ſhould prevail. Both houſes, therefore, unanimouſly reſolved to make an offer of their lives and fortunes to the King: And, to make the offer more ſolemn, both waited upon him, when their addreſs was preſented. The city of London thanked the houſes for what they had done. The King's anſwer to the addreſs was ſuch as only an Engliſh prince can uſe to an Engliſh parliament. In raiſing the dignity of the people, it raiſed that of the perſon who was placed at their head: "I aſſure you," ſaid he, "I will never "abuſe the confidence you ſhall put in me; being fully "perſuaded, that there is no ſure foundation of a "good agreement between a king and his people, but a "mutual truſt: When that is once broken, a govern-"ment is half diſſolved: It ſhall, therefore, be my chief

1689. He informs parliament, that James is failed.

PART II. Book I. 1689.

" care never to give any parliament cauſe to diſtruſt " me; and the beſt method I can chuſe for that pur- " poſe, is never to expect any thing from them, but " what it ſhall be their own intereſt to grant." In the ſame anſwer, taking advantage of the zeal manifeſted in the addreſs, he urged the parliament to haſten the preparations for war, the payment of the Dutch charges in the cauſe of the revolution, and the ſettlement of the revenue, which he now called by its proper name. To reduce Ireland, he demanded 20,000 men: For the marine ſervice, he ſaid, a powerful fleet was neceſſary to be joined to the Dutch fleet, in order to guard the ſeas againſt France. His words, when he mentioned the Dutch, were pointed and ſtrong, partly with the view of recovering his popularity among his countrymen, and partly from ſentiment. " The Dutch, he ſaid, " had neglected their own " ſafety, to relieve England from the extremity ſhe " was under By this ſervice they had drawn inevi- " table deſtruction upon themſelves, unleſs it was now " repaid. The ruin of Holland was, by her enemies, " intended as a ſtep to that of England. They have " really," continued he, " exhauſted themſelves to a " degree which is not eaſily to be imagined; and I " am confident your generoſity towards them will " have as little bounds, as theirs had towards you."

Deſires hearth-money to be aboliſhed.

William, about the ſame time, took other wiſe meaſures to gain the affections of his people. He ſent a meſſage to the commons, in which he deſired, That, in ſettling the revenue, they would either take away, or regulate the tax of hearth-money; a tax which produced 200,000 pounds a year; but which, becauſe the officers of the revenue, in levying it, were at liberty to enter private houſes when they pleaſed, was deemed

deemed inconſiſtent with the honours of Engliſh liberty. Yet even the popularity of this offer was made the ſubject of party-diviſion in parliament *. The whigs inſiſted to relieve the people; the tories contended, that their burden ſhould be continued, under the pretence, that the hearth-money was a ſurer fund, upon which money could be borrowed, than any other; but, in reality, with a view to diſappoint the King of the credit of the meaſure. All free nations are generous and affectionate, at leaſt for a ſeaſon; but the Engliſh above all others. The people had been accuſtomed to ſee their Princes preſſing taxes upon them, inſtead of removing taxes; and were ſenſibly affected with this well-timed generoſity of their new ſovereign. In the end, both houſes of parliament preſented an addreſs of thanks to the King; and the city of London followed the example. The preamble to the bill contained this generous expreſſion: That the law of hearth-money was aboliſhed, in order "to erect a laſting monument of their Majeſties goodneſs in every houſe in the kingdom."

Makes an apology for ſeizing ſuſpected perſons. March 1.

The King took another opportunity to diſcover his attention to the intereſts of liberty. Having cauſed ſome perſons to be ſeized upon treaſonable ſuſpicions, he ſent information of what he had done to the houſe of Lords, uſing theſe expreſſions: "That, being extremely tender of doing any thing which the law "did not fully warrant, he had acquainted their Lordſhips with what he had thought himſelf under a neceſſity of doing, for the public peace and ſecurity of "the government." In a monarchy, to revere the laws, is to reſpect the people. Both houſes joined in an

* Journals of the Houſe of Commons, March 5th. Burnet, 2. pag. 13.

PART II. Book I. 1689.

an addreſs of thanks for this delicacy of the King; and ſuſpended for a month the *habeas corpus* act; a favour granted to adminiſtration for the firſt time, ſince the act had been paſſed. But, while moſt were ſatisfied of the neceſſity which ſeemed to call for the meaſure, and thought, that, in ſecret and dangerous conſpiracies, the citizen had no right to complain, who loſt his liberty for a ſhort time, that it might be preſerved for ever; others exclaimed, that a breach was made in the barrier of perſonal freedom, and that the worſt precedents were often eſtabliſhed in the reigns of the beſt Princes.

Parſimony of parliament.

Notwithſtanding all theſe attentions, however, the commons could not be induced to proceed in ſupplying the King's wants as he wiſhed. Men had now become ſenſible that the dependence of Charles the Second, and the independence of his brother upon parliaments, had ariſen from the ſtraits of the one, and the affluence of the other. The whig-party, therefore, formed a regular plan * to keep the King dependent by his neceſſities; and the tories gave way to it, partly from the malicious pleaſure of ſeeing him in difficulties, and partly from the proſpect of giving him a diſguſt at the whigs. The commons firſt voted †, That the late King's revenue ſhould be levied until the 29th of June inſuing; which implied, that it was expired by the vacancy of the throne: Afterwards ‡ they repealed it formally, and reſolved that all the new grants, except that of the hereditary exciſe, ſhould endure only for a year. They voted likewiſe, that the Kings revenue ‖ ſhould be no more than L. 1,200,000, although the late King's had been two

* Burnet, 2. 13. † Journals of the Houſe of Commons, March 11. ‡ Ibid. July 24. ‖ Ibid. April 27.

two millions; and although the accounts preſented to the houſe ſhewed, that the neat expences of government amounted to more than 1,700,000. They reſtricted the civil liſt * to L. 600,000, and loaded it † with ſeveral new burdens. They provided ‡ pay for the Iriſh army only for ſix months, and gave L. 600,000 for the Dutch charges, and L. 700,000 § for the ſupport of the navy; although the eſtimate of the one had been L. 700,000, and of the other ‖, L. 1,100,000. Even theſe votes gave little ſecurity to the King, either for his own revenue, or for the national ſervices: For, the commons ** poſtponed from time to time the aſſignment of funds: Some aſſignments were loſt by differences with the houſe of Lords; others were dropped by the Commons: The bill for ſettling the King's revenue was not ordered till late in the ſeſſion; nor did it paſs this ſeſſion at all: And the produce of the funds aſſigned, when joined together, was far ſhort of the ſums voted.

It hurts public credit.

Theſe things affected the King the more, becauſe they injured public credit: Diſtruſting the ſtability of the preſent government, and obſerving the want of

* Journals of the Houſe of Commons, March 20.

† Ibid. April 20. ‡ Ibid. March 23. § Ibid. April 25.

‖ Ibid. March 26.

** The poll-bill did not paſs the Commons till the 26th of April. The additional poll-bill was loſt by a difference with the Lords, who claimed a right to tax themſelves. The bill for one ſhilling in the pound upon eſtates and offices did not paſs the Commons till the 17th of June, nor that for the additional cuſtoms till the 12th of July. This laſt was loſt by a difference with the Lords upon their claiming a right to alter a money-bill. The bill for a tax upon ground-rents in London was dropped by the Commons. The exciſe-bill paſſed the Commons ſo late as the 15th of July: And that for eſtabliſhing a fund for payment of the Dutch charges ſtill later, to wit, on the 10th of Auguſt. Vid. Journals of the Houſe of Commons of thoſe dates.

PART II. Book I. 1689.

confidence in the King manifeſted by the Commons, the monied men * ſcrupled to advance upon the votes of parliament. Even while the Commons were laying ſeveral funds together † for the moſt ſalutary of national purpoſes, the care of the navy, they were obliged to impower a committee to receive propoſals for a collateral ſecurity. The ſervants of government diſcovered the ſame diſtruſt. A ſtrong inſtance of this appeared at Cheſter. An officer ‡ having been ſent with ſome ſupplies into Ireland, and ordered to receive L. 1000, in paſſing, from the cuſtom-houſe of Cheſter, the collector paid L. 600 of the money; but refuſed the remainder, becauſe he had not government-money in his hands. The dethroner of one King, the rival of another, the head of the proteſtant league, the ruler of two of the wealthieſt nations in Europe, was refuſed the advance of L. 400, by one of his own cuſtom-houſes. In the mean time, the Dutch, the Scots, the Iriſh, the friends and enemies equally of William in England, the fleet that was equipped, the army that was raiſing, even the creditors of the two late Princes, were clamorous for money, which the King had not always to give. William found, that the head of a free people, whether a Stadtholder of Holland, or a King of England, muſt ſometimes be as neceſſitous as his ſubjects §.

It

* Reresby, 341. † Journals of the Houſe of Commons, April 30. ‡ M'Kenzie, p. 54. Journals Houſe of Commons, Auguſt 12.

§ From the correſpondence of the Lords Juſtices of Ireland with Lord Nottingham, which is in the Paper-office, and from the manuſcript correſpondence of General M'Kay with King William and Lord Portland, it appears, that the governments of Ireland and Scotland were miſerably diſtreſſed for money, during ſome years after the revolution.

1689.

It was in vain for the King to complain of the difficulties he found in his new government. Great bodies of his subjects answered, that their grievances were much greater. The tories represented, through the channel of Lord Nottingham, "That, however willing their party in general was to support the interests of the crown, they durst not discover their inclinations, but were obliged to concur in measures they disapproved; because their enemies in the house of Commons were permitted to keep axes and rods hanging over them." That Lord pointed out to the King, "the danger of a state of party in which the whigs were ready to continue old disturbances, and the tories to create new ones; the former to inflict punishments for offences committed in the late reigns, and the latter to escape from them: Offences which ought to be overlooked; because most of the leading men in the nation had been engaged in them; and because the best way to avoid future injuries was to bury the past in oblivion." The church of England insinuated, "That honour, and consistency with former professions, made it difficult for all her members openly and at once to acknowledge his title to the throne, however well pleased in private most of them might be with his possessing it." A suggestion which probably had the more weight with the King, because attention to the history of the nation for many centuries might have taught him, that oaths imposed by government, are slender securities. The dissenters complained, "That they were scarcely ranked among English subjects; for, their laity was excluded from views of ambition in the state, and their clergy in the church; the one by the necessity of taking the sacramental

The King's grand scheme for composing religious and civil differences.

PART II. Book I. 1689.

" cramental teſt, and the other by that of complying " with the act of uniformity." The ſectaries exclaimed, " That they were even expoſed to puniſh- " ment by law for the ſake of their conſciences." And theſe two laſt bodies of men reminded him of his promiſes in Holland, and of the terms of his manifeſto in England. The tories therefore preſſed for an act of indemnity; the church for a diſpenſation from taking the oaths to the new government; the diſſenters for a repeal of the ſacramental teſt in favour of all proteſtants, and an act of comprehenſion; and the ſectaries for an act of toleration at leaſt.

Although no man was more ready than William to take advantage of accidents, yet his natural genius, and the continual difficulties of his life, had accuſtomed him to act by ſyſtem. He therefore entered into all theſe different views, and reſolved to carry them into execution in one common plan. By this conduct he hoped to gain all parties. Perhaps too, the language ſo often repeated in public and private flatteries, that he was to deliver England from all her miſeries and diſſentions, might ſuggeſt the thought of ſignaliſing the firſt year of his reign, by uniting all his people, and aboliſhing the diſtinctions of whig and tory, churchman and diſſenter: Diſtinctions which, unleſs ſo far as they affected himſelf, his natural magnanimity and phlegmatic temper made him look upon with indifference.

His propoſal for a repeal of the ſacramental teſt diſappointed, March 16.

The attack upon the ſacramental teſt came from the King. As ſoon as he came to the throne, he had ſignified in council his deſire that all proteſtants ſhould be indiſcriminately capable of holding offices. Soon after he took an opportunity to give a more public declaration of his ſentiments: For he went to parliament,

ment, while the Lords were adjuſting the new oaths, and, in a ſpeech, made uſe of theſe words: "As I "doubt not you will ſufficiently provide againſt pa- "piſts, ſo I hope you will leave room for the admiſ- "ſion of all proteſtants that are willing and able to "ſerve. This conjunction in my ſervice will tend to "unite you among yourſelves, and to ſtrengthen you "againſt your common enemies." The ſpeech was communicated previouſly only to Lord Hallifax and Mr Hampden. The day before, a committee had been appointed * to add to the oath-bill, a clauſe for taking away the neceſſity of the ſacramental teſt, Lord Halifax † contending for it beyond others. But, after this ſpeech was heard, the clauſe was rejected by a great majority. A ſimilar clauſe was offered as a rider ‡: It met with the ſame fate. A petition from March 21. the city of London to the houſe of Commons §, that the King might be at liberty to uſe indiſcriminately the ſervice of all his proteſtant ſubjects, was equally diſregarded.

The King, in order to make up for the diſappointment which the church-party was giving him, and to attain two ends at once, ſignified privately his wiſhes to diſpenſe with the oaths of the clergy to government, provided the reſt of his proteſtant-ſubjects were relieved from the ſacramental teſt; recommended a diſpenſation to the houſe of Lords; and in the end got a clauſe put into the oath-bill which conferred upon him a power of giving diſpenſations; for, the clauſe

Scheme for diſpenſing with the oaths of the clergy diſappointed.

* Journals of the Houſe of Lords, March 15. † Burnet, 2. p. 8. ‡ Ibid. Journals of the Houſe of Lords, March 16. March 23. § Journals of the Houſe of Commons, June 25.

PART II. Book I. 1689.

clauſe did not oblige the clergy to take the oaths, unleſs tendered by the King and council. The church party embraced the favour preſented to them, but took no notice of the return that was expected for it. The bill paſſed the houſe of Lords *.

Irritated by this, the diſſenters in the houſe of Commons reſolved to ſhow as little delicacy to the conſciences of churchmen, as the churchmen had ſhewn to theirs; and therefore, when they received the oath-bill from the Lords, they moved for an amendment to oblige the clergy to take the oaths before the firſt of Auguſt enſuing, without any excuſe, under pain of ſuſpenſion, and, in ſix months from that period, under pain of deprivation. The reſt of the whigs joined the diſſenters in the amendment; becauſe, however jealous of the power of the King, they were ſtill more jealous of any thing that could weaken the ſecurity of his title. The amendment † paſſed the
April 15. Commons: When ſent to the Lords it was rejected. Conferences enſued between the houſes, but in vain; for rigour had produced obſtinacy. All the allowance that could be obtained from the Commons for the prejudices of high-church men, was a power to the King to grant to any twelve clergymen who ſhould be deprived for refuſing to take the oaths, a third of their benefices during his pleaſure.

During this ſtruggle, the coronation oath to be taken by the King was adjuſted in the houſe of Commons: Part of it was, that the King ſhould maintain the proteſtant religion: The church-party added theſe words, "As eſtabliſhed by law," in order to bind the King to the maintenance of the church of England

* Reresby, 327. Burnet, 2. p. 8. Journ. Houſe of Lords, 16 March.
† Journals of the Houſe of Commons, 13th and 15th April.

land alone. The diſſenters endeavoured to * preſerve themſelves from the conſequence of this addition by another, "That nothing in the act ſhould be underſtood to diſable the King from aſſenting to any bill preſented by parliament for altering any form or ceremony of the eſtabliſhed church, provided her doctrines, a liturgy, and epiſcopal government, be preſerved;" but were over-ruled.

All theſe things might have convinced the King, how fruitleſs as well as unpopular it was, to perſevere in his ſcheme of obtaining favour for diſſenters: But obſtinate in what he thought to be right, he perſiſted in ſupporting a bill of comprehenſion, which, by his ſuggeſtion, had been brought into the houſe of Lords. And indeed many things promiſed it ſucceſs. In the hour of common danger from popery, during the late reign, the church had made every advance to the preſbyterian part of the diſſenters, and among other things had propoſed to them a ſcheme of comprehenſion, in which, by mutual conceſſions, both parties might have been united in principles and preferments. The biſhops had teſtified their wiſhes for it to the late King, in the paper for which they had been ſent to the Tower. Sancroft the Archbiſhop † had even gone ſome length in adjuſting the terms of it. The applications of the church of England to the Prince of Orange, and the Prince's manifeſto to the nation, had been full of it. Before the non-juring biſhops retired from parliament ‡, they had, either from real or affected moderation, recommended an act of comprehenſion. The Earl of Nottingham, the chief of the high

He is diſappointed in the bill of comprehenſion.

* Journals of the Houſe of Commons, 28th March. † State Trials, Vol. V. 840. ‡ Burnet, 2. p. 6. Journals of the Houſe of Lords, 23d March.

PART II. Book I. 1689.

high church party *, had brought the bill into the houſe of Lords. Theſe things deceived the King into an opinion, that it was agreeable to the nation. But he was ſoon undeceived: A fierce conteſt aroſe in the houſe of Lords, whether ſcrupulous diſſenters ſhould be indulged in not kneeling at the ſacrament: A more manly ſubject of debate enſued upon the queſtion, whether any lay Lords ſhould be joined to the ſpiritual ones in framing the terms of comprehenſion. The votes † were equal in both queſtions. The bill with difficulty paſſed the Peers, and was ſent to the Commons. But, to the aſtoniſhment of the King and the people, the Commons, inſtead of proceeding upon it, inſtantly voted ‡ an addreſs, in which they thanked the King for his care of the church, and reminded him that the misfortunes of preceding Princes had been owing to their want of it: Compliments and commemorations which were in reality reproaches! they concluded with begging him to ſummon a convocation of the clergy, "to be adviſed with in the ſettle-"ment of eccleſiaſtical affairs." Soon after the Lords concurred in the addreſs. This application to put the intereſts of the diſſenters into the hands of a convocation of their adverſaries, the King anſwered with expreſſions of compliment equally inſincere. He ſaid he would call a convocation; but the time of calling it he kept indefinite, by adding, "He would do "it as ſoon as might be."

The King's ſucceſs confined to the bill of toleration.

Of all the King's ſchemes for the reconciliation of his proteſtant ſubjects, he was ſucceſsful in that only of a toleration. The bill for it paſſed both houſes without

* Journals of the Houſe of Lords, March 27.

† Ibid. 3d and 5th April.

‡ Journals of the Houſe of Commons, April 9th and 13th.

without oppoſition, partly from the humanity and good ſenſe of the nation, and partly becauſe the church was thought to be ſufficiently ſecured, by the diſappointments which the King had received.

Cauſes of his diſappointments.

Although in hiſtory, the cauſes of events ſhould be pointed out before the events themſelves are related, yet a contrary method becomes ſometimes neceſſary. There were various cauſes of theſe diſappointments. The church-party was by far the moſt numerous in parliament; many being tories in the church, who were whigs in the ſtate. A number of members, who had deſerted their duty in parliament, returned, and took their ſeats during theſe debates, in order to protect the church from the attack, as they called it, which was making upon her altars. The aſſiſtance of the diſſenters againſt popery, and in defence of liberty, was now no longer needed; and their ſhort-lived connections with the late King were recollected. Ancient antipathies, with new jealouſies, ſtarted up in the minds of the tories; and both were increaſed by the freedoms with which ſome of the whig Lords, particularly Macclesfield and Mordaunt, treated the church in their ſpeeches and proteſts; * for even thoſe could not bear to hear her treated with indecency, who had ſeldom attended to her tenets. Of the whig-party of the eſtabliſhed communion, many looked upon matters of religion with indifference, and thought, that the toleration in favour of all opinions would be the more eaſily maintained, in proportion to the greater numbers who ſtood in need of it. Of the diſſenters themſelves, many of the preſbyterians were afraid leſt they ſhould weaken the ſtrength of their party, by dividing the diſſenting intereſt, and the

* Lords journals.

PART II. Book I. 1689.

more rigid ſectaries looked with envy at that participation of honours in church and in ſtate, which the preſbyterians were to obtain, and from which they themſelves were to be excluded. There were a few in parliament too of firm minds and remoter views *, who, reflecting that the diſſenting intereſt had been always as much attached to liberty, as the church of England had been to prerogative, thought that oppoſition and liberty would be buried in the ſame grave; and that great factions ſhould be kept alive, both in church and in ſtate, for the ſake of the ſtate itſelf.

March 25. Preparations made in parliament to diſappoint an indemnity.

William found equal difficulty in reconciling the political differences of his ſubjects. A few days after his ſpeech in favour of diſſenters, he ſent a meſſage to both houſes, recommending an act of indemnity. The magnanimity of this meaſure could not be oppoſed with decency in public; both houſes, therefore, gave him thanks in an addreſs. But ſome members of the upper, and many more of the lower houſe, concerted meaſures in private to diſappoint that mercy for which they thanked their ſovereign in public.

Effects of the King's attempts to remove differences.

William's attempts to end old diviſions proved only the ſources of new ones. He was repaid with the jealouſy of the whigs for his compaſſion to tories, and with the anger of the church for his favour to diſſenters. Many of the diſcontented whigs ſuggeſted to their party in private †, "That all Kings were fond "of prerogative, and that the King wanted a pardon "for the miniſters of the late reigns, only with a view "to employ ſervants, who would be as obſequious to "him as they had been to former princes."

Breach with the church.

But the breach between the King and a great part of

* Burnet, 2. p. 11.

† Burnet, 2. p. 15. Lord Delamer's works.

of the church became notorious: Multitudes of her members firſt perſuaded themſelves, and then a great part of their followers, "That the church of England "ran a greater riſk in the preſent reign from diſſen-"ters, than it had done in the late one from Roman "Catholics." Sancroft the Archbiſhop refuſed to crown the King. Five of the biſhops who had been ſent to the Tower by the late King, and three others, refuſed to take the oaths, or to give their attendance in parliament. Many hundreds of the inferior clergy imitated, in their own ſpheres, theſe examples of diſobedience. The popularity of the five biſhops became greater with their own party, from the contraſt between their behaviour and that of Archbiſhop Lamplugh, and Biſhop Sprat, two favourites of the old court, but who now concurred with the meaſures of the new one in all things: And hence, the greater animoſity aroſe, between thoſe of the clergy who conformed, and thoſe who did not conform, to the new government. The nation entered into the diſputes of the church; for, as all her members alledged the impulſe of conſcience to juſtify what they did, one half of the people honoured, and the other ſcoffed at, the principles they aſſumed. But the King ſtood aſtoniſhed to find, that he reigned over ſubjects who were more fond of continuing diviſions, than other nations are of bringing them to a period.

War declared againſt France

High ſpirited nations forget their own animoſities only in thoſe againſt other nations. The King reſolved to gratify his natural hatred of France, and hoped to purchaſe domeſtic quiet to himſelf, by turning the rage of the nation upon the continual object of its averſion and jealouſy. The parliament, though divided in every other thing, was unanimous in favour-

PART II. Book I. 1689. April 27.

ing the inclination of the King on this point. Both houſes, therefore, in an addreſs, aſſured him of their ſupport in a war againſt France. The King could not conceal his joy when he received it. The words of his anſwer were ſhort and unaffected, and therefore contained the ſentiments of his heart: "The "meaſures of France," he ſaid, "amounted ſo much "to a declaration of war, that a war on the part of "England was not ſo much an act of choice, as of "neceſſity." The Empire, Spain, Holland, the Elector of Brandenburgh, united at the ſame time againſt France, and many other Princes prepared to join them. The hour ſeemed to approach when Lewis XIV. was to be called upon, to pay the forfeit he had long owed for his inſults to all the nations around him. William is reported to have ſaid to his confidents, that the day on which England joined the other powers of Europe againſt their common enemy, "was the firſt "day of his reign." But as the late King was in Ireland, thoſe who conſidered the ſtate of things with leſs ſanguine expectations, foreſaw that a war on the part of England muſt chiefly be defenſive. Others who examined the nature of free and trading nations, believed that an alliance between England and Holland, under one common Prince, could not fail to be the ſubject of jealouſies to both.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

TO

CHAPTER I. OF PART II.

Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William, dated Amſterdam, March 8th, immediately after the revolution. —Anxious about his own fate—reminds King William of his ſervices in the revolution.

IF I had not followed the advice of my friends rather than my own ſenſe, I ſhould not have been out of England at this time; for I thought I had ſerved the public ſo importantly in contributing what lay in me towards the advancing of your glorious undertaking, that the having been in an odious miniſtry ought not to have obliged me to be abſent: but nothing makes me repine ſo much at it, as that I could not give my vote for placing your Majeſty on the throne, as I would have done with as much joy and zeal as any man alive; and do now moſt heartily wiſh you all the greatneſs and proſperity you deſerve, which is to wiſh you more than any man ever had. I muſt now beg leave to offer to your Majeſty my moſt humble acknowledgments for your juſtice and

and grace in ordering me to be ſet at liberty. I came into this country becauſe I deſired to be intirely in your power, and will continue in it till you forbid me, which I hope in charity your Majeſty will never do. I ſhould be ſure you never would, if my condition were worthy of your conſideration. Wherever I am in the world, your commands, as they ought, ſhall be moſt exactly obeyed by, (*In King William's Cabinet.*)

Amſterdam, March 8.

Lady Sunderland to King William.—A ſimilar letter.

THE relief I had by your Majeſty's juſtice and grace from the ſharpeſt apprehenſions that ever I lay under, may, I hope, be allowed a ſufficient plea for the liberty I now take to preſent you my moſt humble acknowledgments for that great charity of yours: I dare not impute it to any other motive; but however unfortunate my preſent circumſtances are, I have this to ſupport me, that my thoughts as well as actions have been, are, and I dare ſay ever will be, what they ought to be to your Majeſty; and not only upon the account of the duty I now owe you, but long before your glorious undertaking, I can't but hope you remember how devoted I was to your ſervice, which was founded upon ſo many great and eſtimable qualities in you, that I can never change my opinion, whatever my fortune may be in this world; and may I but hope for ſo much of your Majeſty's favour, as to live quietly in a country where you have ſo much power, till it ſhall pleaſe God to let me end my days at my own home, I ſhall ever be moſt truly and humbly thankful. (*In King William's Cabinet.*)

Amſterdam, March 11.

Letter

Letter of Lord Sunderland to King William—Anxious about his fate.

YOUR diſpleaſure is of all things the moſt grievous. I deſerve pity upon many accounts. That I beſeech you do withdraw, and forgive my failings, and diſpoſe of me for ever as you ſhall think fit. God Almighty preſerve you for ever.

Thurſday. (*In King William's Cabinet.*)

The above three letters ſhow the difficult ſituation into which the double conduct of Lord and Lady Sunderland (as double-dealing always does) had thrown both themſelves and King William.

In memoirs written by Sir John Lowther, firſt Lord of the Treaſury to King William, part of which Sir James Lowther was ſo obliging as to ſhow me, there is a very ſtrong picture of the diſtreſſes which King William was under in England, from want of money. But the ſtrongeſt picture of all is in a letter in King William's cabinet, from Lord Godolphin to King William, without a date, but appearing from its contents to have been written in the year 1693. This letter, containing the true ſtate of parties and of the king immediately after the revolution, and being a very remarkable one in many reſpects, I print the whole of it.

For

For the KING.

SIR,

HAVING, according to my duty, made it my buſineſs not only to give a conſtant attendance in the houſe all this ſeſſions, but at all meetings to which I was called, to conſider how to carry on your affairs; and having thereby had an opportunity to make ſeveral obſervations that may prove for your Majeſty's ſervice to know, I think myſelf obliged, with all imaginable ſubmiſſion, to lay them before your Majeſty.

And it being generally diſcourſed as if your Majeſty had a peace in proſpect, you'll pardon me, Sir, if from thoſe obſervations, in the firſt place, I preſume to ſay how much, in my poor opinion, it will contribute to your future happineſs if it ſhould, if poſſible, be perfected before the meeting either of this or any other parliament.

When your Majeſty conſiders the preſent ſtate of the kingdom, and the factions that are in it, you'll find that the two great points that require more eſpecially your care, are how to manage the partyes ſoe as to maintain yourſelf againſt your enemies abroad, and at the ſame time ſo to preſerve your authority at home, that the neceſſity of doing the one may not bring you to ſuch circumſtances that it will be impoſſible for you to keep the other; and this taſk is more difficult, becauſe the toreys, who are friends to prerogative, are ſo mingled with Jacobites, that they are not to be confided in during the war; and the Whigs, who are, for that reaſon, of neceſſity to be employed to ſupport your cauſe againſt the common enemy, will at the ſame time endeavour all they

they can to make uſe of that opportunity to leſſen your juſt power. And let them pretend what they will to your Majeſty, the ſeveral inſtances they have given this ſeſſions of their intentions that way, puts this matter out of all doubt to any perſon who has taken the leaſt pains to obſerve them, and it's beyond all diſpute manifeſt, that though they will give money to keep out King James, yet they'll never give you one vote to ſupport your juſt right in any point where (what they pleaſe to call) the intereſt of the people is concerned.

This being the condition of your partye, which I preſume your Majeſty will allow to be too true, I am confident, when you look into the funds that are given for the ſervice of this year, and conſider how much they leſſen and incumber your hereditary revenue; and when you know, Sir, that if the war continue, it will be impoſſible to ſave the cuſtoms (which is the only tax now left you can expect will ever be given for a longer time than from year to year) from being likewiſe pawned for five years at leaſt: I preſume to ſay, Sir, theſe things conſidered, your Majeſty will be of opinion that it is more your intereſt, with relation to your affairs at home, to have a peace this ſummer, than ever it was ſince you ſat upon the throne of England; and that if you have it not, as things have been managed, the next year's expences will ſo anticipate thoſe branches of the revenue that ever have been kept hitherto for the ordinary ſupport of the government, that it will be ſcarce poſſible that your Majeſty ſhould ever ſee an eaſy day, though it ſhould pleaſe God hereafter to give you ſuch a peace as yourſelf could wiſh: and the ground-work on which I build this aſſertion is, that it ever was and ever will be impracticable for any king of England to be the leaſt happy, who muſt depend upon a parliament every year to give him a mil-

lion of money for his common and neceſſary ſupport; and that this will be your Majeſty's circumſtance, if the war be another year continued, will, I fear, by the following account of expence of this year, and by the gueſs or computation of what may be the funds for the next, appear to be very near a demonſtration.

The funds for 94.

Land-tax, beſides what is paid thereout to the defect of the poll, to this year's charge, - - - - -	1,500,000
2d, Ninepenſe upon the exciſe granted for 16 years, to commence from May, 97.; the ſalt to make good the fund in the mean time, to rais by way of lottery for this year's ſervis, - - - -	1,000,000
3d, Ninepenſe upon the exciſe, granted for 99 years, to commence from May, 97.; the tunag being to ſupply the ſame in the mean time, to rais upon perpetual intereſt and lives for this year's ſervis,	1,500,000
Quarterly poll given for - -	700,000
Hackney-coaches to be licenſed for 21 years, - - - - -	100,000
Paper act for four years, - -	230,000
	5,030,000

Note, The 2 ninepenſes granted this year upon the exciſe, with that which was laſt year given upon the ſame revenues, for raiſing a million of money upon lives, are allowed to ſink the hereditary exciſe above 250,000 per annum; and the remainder being made a collateral ſecurity, that the ſalt and tunage ſhall anſwer 280,000 per

per annum, till May 1695, will, in probability, be thereby ſunk about 100,000 a-year more for that; from the ſalt branch muſt not hereafter be expected more then 300,000 per annum; though formerly it yielded when the half crown ſtood ſingly, (and that is only hereditary) 650,000 *l.* a-year. I take it for granted that if the war continue, it will be impoſſible for your Majeſty to leſſen your charge; for as the confederats muſt take it ill if the land forces are not the ſame, for the parliament will never ſuffer the navy to be decreaſed; therefore I compute the money neceſſary to be given to be likewiſe 5,000,000.

A gueſs at the funds for 95.

Four ſhillings in the pound upon land, unleſs it be more equally aſſeſt, (and that the major part of the houſe will never allow) will not yield above 1,800,000, and of that then will probably be anticipated by the clauſes of credit given this year about 600,000; ſo that to next year's charge muſt not be expected more than - - - -	1,200,000

The pole can't poſſibly be repeated next year, in regard it will be in collection in April next, nor more can be got upon trade, ſince the tunage is now granted.

There can be no more money raiſed by proteſts for want of funds, there being no revenew out of which to make any, but the ſmall remainder of the hereditary exciſe.

For that not only the cuſtoms muſt be pawn'd for a conſiderable time, but a further charge upon land, and ſeveral heads of exciſes muſt be brought to make up the

ſum wanting; and when the cuſtoms are ſo pawn'd, the hereditary exciſe part leſſened for ever, and an other part made a colatral ſecurity for three years, to its prejudice 100,000 per annum; and the ninepence (that uſed to be given to the crown in caſes of neceſſity) ſettled two of them for 99 years, and the third for 19 years to come, nothing is more plain, than that your Majeſty has not a revenew of your own to depend upon at preſent of above 400,000 per annum, nor will there be any other in proſpect when the uſual ones are diſpoſed on as aboveſaid; for that computing the neceſſary charge of the government, in time of peace, at 1,400,000 a-year, which is the loweſt it has been eſtimated at, a million muſt conſtantly be raiſed out of your ſubjects pockets, by extraordinary ways for your ſupport; and how uneaſy that will make your government to yourſelf, I leave your Majeſty to judge. I ſhall only add, that it is manifeſtly the deſigns of ſome people to keep neceſſities always upon you, and it was from ſuch that the reverſion of the 600,000 upon the Eaſt India Company, and the reſolutions to charge the cuſtoms this year, proceeded. And nothing, I can aſſure your Majeſty, prevented the latter but the warmth you ſpoke with on that ſubject to the ſecretary.

A new parliament will not help this matter; for let who will be the givers, there will remain ſtill the ſame ways of giving; and let what ſort of men ſoever be choſen, I dare anſwer for't, a majority of them will be much rather for mortgaging the revenue of the crown, than their own land; and this makes me have reaſon to fear your Majeſty will never again have ſuch an offer as was made you this ſeſſions; and refuſed by thoſe that pretended to be your friends, and ſoon after repented that it was ever tendered, by thoſe that were your enemys;

mys; when, upon thinking on't more thoroughly, they found of what infinite advantage it would have been to your government.

But, Sir, ſince I have mentioned a new parliament, and knowing you will be preſs'd by the whiggs to have one, being ſanguine enough to imagine they ſhall be able to get a greater majority in the next than they can pretend to in this, you'll pardon me for troubling you with a word or two on that ſubject: and in my humble opinion it ſeems to be unqueſtionably your intereſt, if the war continue, to continue the parliament; and if the war ends, to let that end with it. And my reaſons for this opinion are:

1ſt, Theſe are the ſame men that engaged your Majeſty in the war, and are obliged by their votes to ſupport you in it.

2dly, The experience you have that this houſe will do it, ought to be an unanſwerable argument againſt parting with it, for a new one, when you do not know whether they will be for you or not.

3dly, The great reaſon that's given for diſſolving this, being, becauſe it's ſaid they have an ill reputation, ought not to ſway in this affair, but the contrary; ſince that is only a ſcandal raiſed by the enemys of the government; and the ſupporting your Majeſty being the crime they lay to their charge, your Majeſty's friends ought to eſteem them for that, for which they are hated by their enemys.

4thly, Your Majeſty has for this 4 years laſt paſt been giving all employments to members of the houſe, which though it has not ſignified much in any party buſineſs, yet in the grand affair of carrying on the war, they have been of mighty ſervice; for there is but very few inſtances of any of them but which upon occaſion appear

to

to be hearty for your government, in relation to the foreign diſpute, and many of theſe will be left out in a new choice, which will be no ſmall prejudice to your Majeſty, conſidering that moſt of your enemys in the houſe of Commons are made ſo, becauſe they have not places like the reſt.

But what's the moſt dangerous conſequence of a new election is, that it will throw the ballance too much on the one ſide or the other; for either the whiggs will, according to their expectation, get it into their hands intirely, and then I fear your Majeſty will think the impoſitions they'll be laying upon you unreaſonable; or otherwiſe the torys will have the aſcendant, and then it's to be doubted that they, in revenge to the whiggs, will, for the major part, be governed by the artifices of the Jacobites, and from ſuch a misfortune nothing leſs than deſtruction can proceed.

Whereas, as the houſe is now conſtituted, the whiggs are not ſtrong enough to make uſe of the neceſſitys of your government as much as they are inclined to do; neither are the torys numerous enough to reſent your Majeſty's favouring the whiggs. Sir, upon the whole, I ſhall preſume to conclude as I began, that the parliament that begun with the war, ſhould likewiſe end with it, and not before.

And if it pleaſed God to grant your Majeſty an honourable peace, and you would then be pleaſed to ſett up for a party of your own, and lett all people ſee that if they expected your favour they muſt depend upon you for it, and not lett any one hope for promotion for being true to a faction, but by ſerving of you; I preſume to ſay that the war being ended, a new parliament called, and ſuch meaſures purſued, your Majeſty would quickly find, that the jacobites would turn moderate churchmen,

churchmen, and loyall ſubjects, and the whiggs much more obſequious courtiers, and eaſier ſervants than now they are.

I ſhall conclude with begging your Majeſty's pardon moſt humbly for the trouble I have preſumed to give you; and I am perſuaded if you knew with what zeal this is intended for your ſervice, you would not refuſe to grant it to, SIR,

Your Majeſty's moſt dutifull
and obedient ſubject and ſervant.

Remark.] My reaſon for imputing this letter to Lord Godolphin is, that I found it in the bundle of Lord Godolphin's letters, and there was written on the label of the bundle theſe words: "57 letters from Lord Godolphin," and in the bundle there were 56, beſides this one. People who have ſeen the letter differ whether it be his hand-writing. The orthography is, in ſeveral words, different from his common ſpelling. It is not ſigned by him; but this circumſtance rather aids the preſumption of his having writ it: for all King William's other miniſters ſigned their letters to their maſter; whereas, of the other 56 letters written by Lord Godolphin, there is only one ſigned by him.

While King William was engaged in his project of reconciling the religious differences of England, he was at great pains to find out the proportions between churchmen, diſſenters, and papiſts. In his cheſt there is the following curious report in conſequence of an enquiry upon that head.

The

The NUMBER *of* FREEHOLDERS *in* ENGLAND.

	Conformists.	Non-conformists.	Papists.
Province of Canterbury,	2,123,362	93,151	11,878
of York,	353,892	15,525	1,978
In both	2,477,254	108,676	13,856
Conformists,		2,477,254	
Nonconformists,		108,676	
		2,585,930	
Papists,		13,856	
In all England,		2,599,786	

According to which account, the proportion of
Conformists to Non-conformists, is $22\frac{4}{7}$ to one.
Conformists to Papists, is $178\frac{10}{13}$
Conformists and Non-conformists together to Papists, is $186\frac{3}{5}$

PAPISTS *in the several provinces above the age of* 16.

Canterbury,	142
London,	2,069
Winchester,	968
Rochester,	64
Norwich,	671
Lincoln,	1,244
Ely,	14
Chichester,	385
Salisbury,	548
Exeter,	298
Bath and Wells,	176

Worceſter,	719
Coventry and Litchfield,	1,949
Hereford,	714
Glouceſter,	124
Briſtol,	199
Peterſborough,	163
Oxford,	358
St David's,	217
Landaff,	551
Bangor,	19
St Aſaph,	275
Total of theſe,	11,867

	Conformists.	Non-conformists.	Papists.	Conformists to Non-conformists, as 1 to		Conformists to Papists, as 1 to		Conformists to both, as 1 to		Non-conformists to Papists, as 1 to	
Canterbury,	59596	6287	143	9 *R*	3013	419 *R*	98	9 *R*	1735	44 *R*	39
London,	263385	20893	2069	12 *R*	12669	127 *R*	622	11 *R*	10805	10 *R*	201
Winchester,	150937	7904	968	19 *R*	761	155 *R*	823	17 *R*	113	8 *R*	160
Rochester,	27886	1752	64	15 *R*	1606	445 *R*	46	15 *R*	646	27 *R*	24
Norwich,	168760	7934	671	21 *R*	2146	251 *R*	339	19 *R*	465	11 *R*	553
Lincolne,	215077	10001	1244	21 *R*	5056	172 *R*	1109	19 *R*	1422	8 *R*	49
Ely,	30917	1416	14	21 *R*	1181	2208 *R*	5	21 *R*	887	101 *R*	2
Chichester,	49164	2452	385	20 *R*	124	129 *R*	399	17 *R*	935	6 *R*	142
Salisbury,	103671	4075	548	25 *R*	1796	189 *R*	99	22 *R*	1964	7 *R*	239
Exeter,	207570	5406	298	38 *R*	2142	696 *R*	162	36 *R*	2326	18 *R*	42
Bath and Wells,	145464	5856	176	24 *R*	4920	826 *R*	88	24 *R*	696	33 *R*	48
Worcester,	37489	1325	719	28 *R*	389	52 *R*	101	18 *R*	697	1 *R*	606
Coventry & Litchfield,	155720	5042	1949	30 *R*	4460	79 *R*	1749	22 *R*	1918	2 *R*	1144
Hereford,	65942	1076	714	61 *R*	606	92 *R*	254	36 *R*	2602	1 *R*	362
Gloucester,	64734	2363	128	26 *R*	296	505 *R*	84	25 *R*	2449	18 *R*	59
Bristol,	66200	2200	199	30 *R*	200	332 *R*	132	27 *R*	1487	11 *R*	11
Peterborough,	91444	2031	167	43 *R*	1961	591 *R*	111	40 *R*	1684	12 *R*	125
Oxford,	38812	1122	358	34 *R*	664	108 *R*	148	26 *R*	1332	3 *R*	48
St. David's,	68242	2368	217	28 *R*	1938	314 *R*	104	26 *R*	1032	12 *R*	198
Landaff,	39248	719	551	54 *R*	422	71 *R*	147	30 *R*	1148	1 *R*	168
Bangor,	28016	247	19	113 *R*	95	1474 *R*	19	105 *R*	86	13	
St. Asaph,	45088	635	275	71 *R*	3	163 *R*	263	49 *R*	498	2 *R*	85
	2123362	93104	11876								

There are in the province of Canterbury 23740 papiſts, half of theſe is under the age of 16 years, viz. 11870; a ſeventh part of theſe are aged, and above 3391. Taking out of the ſaid number of papiſts the two laſt ſums, which make in all 15261; there remains then 8479, of which the one half is women: there remains therefore in the province of Canterbury, fitt to bear arms, 4239 papiſts.

The province of York bears a ſixth part of the taxes, and hath in it a ſixth part of the people as that of Canterbury hath, (viz.) 3956, whereof half are under the age of 16, (viz.) 1978; and a ſeventh part above 60, (viz.) 565; and of the aforeſaid ſixth part one half is women.

The total therefore of the papiſts of the province of York fitt to bear arms is 701; joyning which to the total of the papiſts in the province of Canterbury fitt to bear arms, makes the total of the papiſts throughout all England fitt to bear arms to be 4940.

There being every where as many under the age of 16 as above it, the total of the whole papiſts in the whole province is 23740.

An Account of the Province of Canterbury.

In the taking of theſe accounts we find theſe things obſervable:

1. That many left the church upon the late indulgence who before did frequent it.
2. The ſending for theſe enquirys hath cauſed many to frequent the church.

 3. That

3. That they are Walloons chiefly that make up the number of diſſenters in Canterbury, Sandwich, and Dover.
4. That the preſbyterians are divided, ſome of them come ſome time to church, therefore ſuch are not wholly diſſenters upon the 3d enquiry.
5. A conſiderable part of diſſenters are not of any ſect whatſoever.
6. Of thoſe that come to church very many do not receive the ſacrament.
7. At Aſhford and at other places we find a new ſort of hereticks, after the name of Muggleton, a London taylor, in number 30.
8. The reſt of the diſſenters are preſbyterians, anabaptiſts, independants, quakers, about equal numbers, only 2 or 3 called ſelf-willers profeſſedly.
9. The heads and preachers of the ſeveral factions are ſuch as had a great ſhare in the late rebellion.

BOOK II.

IE late King's arrival in Ireland.——State of that Kingdom.——The different Advices he gets.——Siege of Londonderry.——Clamours in England on Account of it.——Sea-fight of Bantry-Bay.——Continuation of the Siege.——Barbarity of Marshal Rosen.——The Siege raised.——Fate of the Garrison.——Proceedings of the Irish Parliament.——Exercise of Government in Ireland.——James's own Conduct.——Lord Dundee's Exploits.——Manners of the Highlanders, with their Causes.——Their Dress, Armour, and manner of War.——Battle of Killikranky.——Fate of Lord Dundee's Officers.

1689.

THE first hostilities between France and England appeared in Ireland: For, while England was rent h factions, Lord Dundee meditating a civil war in tland, and one half of Europe animated against the er, to support or depress the cause of the late King, t Prince had sailed from France, and arrived upon 12th of March at Kingsale in Ireland. Before he tted France, he had written to the Emperor to ask t assistance, which, he said, one Catholick Prince ght expect from another in a cause common to all nces. The unhappy find few friends! The Emper- s answer under the common cover of affected pity, s filled with reproaches of past misconduct, and of his French

The late King's arrival in Ireland.

March 12.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

French friendſhip; and, to make the affront more
blic, both letters were printed. But James had
with mortifications which were ſtill more humbli
The preparations for his enterprize, and even the p
priety of the enterprize itſelf, having become the
jects of intrigue * among the French miniſters, he,
whom a nation of freemen had been accuſtomed to b
hung long, in uncertain hopes, upon the ſervants of
other, perhaps not unmindful of his own inatten
upon former occaſions to the ſufferings of others.
the French King, feeling from ſympathy of rank, for
unhappy gueſt, what no miniſter could, gave order
haſten the preparations for his voyage. James was
tended by a multitude of Britiſh and Iriſh nobility
officers who had adhered to his fortunes, 2500 ſoldi
of the ſame nations, and about an hundred French
ficers. Marſhal Roſen commanded the expediti
The Count D'Avaux, who had ſo often, when amba
dor in Holland, given warning in vain, of the Prince
Orange's intentions, now accompanied James as amb
ſador from France; in his perſon, a ſad monitor of p
errors, and, in his office, an omen of future misfortun
The French King ſupplied James with 400,000 crow
in money, and with equipage of every kind befitting
dignity. The ſame Prince offered to ſend with hi
force of French troops. But, with a magnanimity wh
he was found afterwards uncapable of ſupporting,
anſwered, † "I will recover my own dominions w
"my own ſubjects, or periſh in the attempt." Le
XIV. who deemed it to be part of a great monar
character to ſtudy his compliments, and who ming
the grand and the pleaſant in all his ſayings of cere
ny, ſaid to his friend at taking leave of him: "The
"w

* Burnet, 2. 17. † Sir John Reresby, 333.

wiſh I can form for your ſervice, is, that I may never ſee you again."

1689.

ames found the appearances of things in Ireland al to his wiſhes; Tyrconnel and Lord Lieute- t devoted to him; his old army ſteady, and a new raiſed, making together 30,000 foot, and 8000 ſe; the proteſtants over the greateſt part of Ireland rmed; the province of Ulſter alone in diſobedience; papiſts in arms, frantic with joy, enthuſiaſm, and the ſpect of independence upon England; no Engliſh ps in the kingdom, no fleet on the coaſts; his recep- at Kingſale and Cork cordial, and his public entry Dublin magnificent. Upon intelligence of James's ntion to come ſpeedily to Ireland, Tyrconnel had Colonel Hamilton, the ſame man who had forfeited honour to King William, againſt the proteſtants in North; for, theſe having at laſt, in March, received ouragement from King William, had proclaimed him his conſort. Hamilton's forces drove their oppo- ts from poſt to poſt, and gave them ſo complete a at at Drummore, that it was called, in the Iriſh man- of expreſſion, the *rout of Drummore*. After this, t of thoſe who were ill affected to the government ames retired into Scotland and England, or hid them- es, or accepted of written protections, from their mies. The braveſt, however, of the proteſtant inte- *, to the number of 10,000, gathered together round donderry, reſolved to make their laſt ſtand at that e for their religion and liberty. A few alſo rallied nſelves at Inniſkilling; and, after the firſt panic was r, became more numerous by the junction of others.

State of that kingdom.

ames continued, ſome time after his arrival, irreſo- what uſe to make of this proſperous ſtate of his af- fairs.

Different advices given to James.

* M'Kenzie, p. 24.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

fairs. Lord Dundee * preſſed him from Scotland, "
" embark with part of his army for that country,
" which there were no regular troops †, except four
" regiments, which King William had lately ſent dow
" where his preſence would fix the wavering, intimid
" the timid, and where hoſts of ſhepherds would ſt
" up warriors at the firſt wave of his banner upon th
" mountains." From England ‡, and by many too w
were with him in Ireland, he was adviſed, " To
" pair inſtantly to England with all the forces he co
" waft over. In vain was it for him to conſume ti
" in completing the conqueſt of Ireland, nine-tenths
" which were already under his dominion: A coun
" diſpirited by a ſubjection that had endured for cen
" ries, and which, from the remoteneſs of its ſituat
" from the reſt of Europe, nature herſelf had deter
" ned ſhould always follow, never command the fortu
" of England. Trifling was the gain in ſubduing
" remaining part; but important would be the loſs
" its conſequences, if his new arms ſhould meet wit
" diſgrace. While France threatened; while Engla
" was in open diſcontent; while Scotland nouriſhe
" ſecret fire, which, like the ſilence before thunder, w
" only the prelude to more dangerous miſchiefs; wh
" Ireland was eager to waſte her blood and her treaſu
" in his cauſe; now was the time to ſhake a throne n
" unſettled, uſurped, and to overwhelm a people tr
" bling always at the firſt ſound of invaſion, but gath
" ing ſtrength, and ſpirit, and union, to meet it w
" courage when too long delayed. If he ſhould
" of ſucceſs, it was more glorious for him, in
" great conteſt, to fail, or even to fall, in the hear
"

* Story, p. 2. pag. 5.
† Lord Balcarras.
‡ Burnet, 2. 18.

" his kingdom, in the eyes of his native ſubjects, pitied " and reſpected even by thoſe who conquered him, than " to wage war at a diſtance like a fugitive, waſting the " provinces, and weakening the ſtrength of his country."

From a fatality which attended this Prince from his cradle to his grave, he rejected both theſe counſels, and followed thoſe of the French who ſurrounded him: French counſels to an Engliſh monarch, and therefore the worſt. The French had inſtructions from their own court to protract the civil war, and to ſecure the poſſeſſion of Ireland, in order that from thence France might be enabled to annoy England. But their intentions were covered from James under ſpecious pretences. They remonſtrated, " How dangerous it would be to oppoſe " forces moſtly new levied, and undiſciplined, to the " veteran troops which the Prince of Orange had " brought from abroad with him; to the national for- " ces of a people accuſtomed to believe all nations to be " inferior to them in all things, but chiefly in courage; " Iriſh to Engliſh, the conquered to the conquerors. By " carrying the war into Ulſter, and laying ſiege to the " rebellious towns there, he might train his troops to " the habits, the fatigues, the diſcipline, the arts of war, " and diſcover the nature of that army upon which his " fate was to depend. To truſt his perſon to the Scots, " who, forgetting all the ancient honours of their na- " tion, had betrayed his father for money, when he " threw himſelf into their arms for protection, and af- " ter loading their preſent King with their flatteries, " had gone beyond the Engliſh rebels, by excluding " even his ſon, and his ſon's poſterity, from their throne, " was to ruſh upon his deſtruction. If he landed in " the low parts of their country, he would find himſelf " encompaſſed by men, who thought, that, in fighting

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

" againſt their King, they fought for their God: If in " the Highlands, barren would be his conqueſts; his " army muſt fall inglorious, conſumed by famine, wan- " dering from hill to hill like the miſts of the country, " and conquered even by the elements. To invade " England with a ſmall force, which he had not been " able to keep with a great one, would be equally im- " prudent: The Prince of Orange had not made his in- " vaſion in that manner. To carry a great force thither " was impoſſible at preſent; for, before tranſports could be " gathered together ſufficient for ſhipping an army, the " Engliſh fleet would be on the coaſt of Ireland, and the " French fleet was already retired to its own. Even al- " though his army could be landed in England, his only " approach was upon the weſtern ſide of the iſland, be- " cauſe he had no ſhipping for a voyage more diſtant; " and, if he landed on that ſide, his troops would be ob- " liged to march many days, through countries incloſed " and woody, where the very felling of the trees acroſs " the roads, would prove barriers againſt their advan- " cing. The gain of a battle could not enſure his ſuc- " ceſs; the enemy might ſtill diſpute every paſs, and " army after army be raiſed againſt him as he ſlow- " ly advanced. A ſingle defeat was inevitable ruin; " retreat, even flight, impoſſible; the Duke of Mon- " mouth's fate might perhaps be his fate. But in " Ireland he could riſe ſtrong from defeat, and, even in " the deſpair of religion and party, find reſources which " could only terminate with the paſſions of men. The " conqueſt of Ulſter, which contained only a few coun- " try gentlemen with their tenants, and a rabble of " cowardly mechanics, was eaſily accompliſhed: But it " would add reputation to his arms: And, if that nor- " thern province were in his hands, he could waft what

" forces he pleaſed in a few hours into Scotland. By " completing the conqueſt of Ireland, a way would be " paved, ſlow perhaps, but ſure, to his throne. From " thence his old armies could be recruited, and new " ones raiſed: There he could receive ſuccours of fleets, " and forces, and treaſures, from France, wait the " event of Dundee's exploits in Scotland, of inſurrec- " tions in England, of invaſions from abroad into both " of theſe kingdoms, and derive advantages even from " the accidents of fortune. The Engliſh, haraſſed by " the ſtoppage of their trade, by the weight of taxes, by " the miſeries of a civil war of which no end was to be " ſeen, would curſe that invader whom they had lately " bleſſed as their deliverer. Even the national levity " would make that people return to their natural ſove- " reign, ſupported by near two millions of Iriſh ſub- " jects, who had, of their own accord, returned to his " brother, when an exile in Flanders, unattended and " friendleſs."

Perſuaded by theſe arguments, James took his meaſures for a continuance in Ireland. He called a parliament to meet him at Dublin on the 7th day of May, as if this mock ſtate, in a province whoſe parliaments had hitherto been little conſidered, could ſupply the want of real ſovereignty. And, in the mean time, quitting Dublin as ſoon as the ſpring would permit, he went to lay ſiege to Londonderry: a town of ſmall importance at other times, but rendered famous by the defence which it made now, and the conſequences which that defence had upon the future operations of the war.

Siege of Londonderry.

Amidſt the difficulties which King William had, to find officers in Ireland whom he could truſt, he had appointed Colonel Lundie to be governor of Londonderry: A man whoſe fidelity was ſo little known, that the officer ſent

PART II. Book II. 1689.

to him from England with the ſtores of war, was ordered * not to deliver his charge until Lundie had taken the oaths in his preſence to the new government. The precaution was neceſſary, but weak: For Lundie, having been one of Tyrconnel's officers, had quitted the intereſts of King James, only with a view to ſerve them the more effectually. Lundie, as James's army advanced towards Londonderry, abandoned paſs after paſs †, ſometimes with feeble, and ſometimes with no defence; and, at laſt, upon the 13th April, took refuge in the town.

Two days before King James could overtake Lundie, two regiments, under the command of Colonel Richards and Colonel Cunningham, arrived from England in the lake which makes a communication between the ſea and the town. Their orders having been diſcretionary, to land the troops or not, according as the ſervice ſhould require, they offered to join Lundie: They urged him to march out of the town, and defend one of the paſſes which was ſtill left. Lundie wrote them an ambiguous and contradictory anſwer: In the beginning of his letter, he deſired them to land: In the end of it ‡, the told them the place was untenable, and referred them for particulars to the officer who carried the letter: The officer delivered them orders not to land the men, but to come to town themſelves with ſome of their officers, in order to attend a council of war. To this council Lundie called only two of his own officers, thirteen of thoſe belonging to the two regiments, and the town clerk, whoſe aſſiſtance was neceſſary to frame the minutes of council §. To theſe perſons he painted, in the ſtrongeſt colours,

* M'Kenzie, p. 24. Journals Houſe of Commons, Auguſt 12.

† Walker, M'Kenzie, paſſim. Journ. Houſe of Commons, Aug. 12.

‡ M'Kenzie, p. 25. § Ibid.

lours, the weakneſs of the town in military ſtores, in defences, in proviſions: He even averred, that, to his own knowledge, there was not ſubſiſtence in it for ten days. The council came to a reſolution, oppoſed only by Richards, not to land the regiments, and that all the officers ſhould privately withdraw from the town. The two Colonels, with ſome of their officers, retired from the council to their ſhips. Lundie next called a meeting of the town-council, where it was reſolved to ſend meſſengers to King James, with an offer to ſurrender the town next day.

It was intended to keep the reſult of theſe councils ſecret. But, next morning, the town-clerk, convening a number of the people, informed them of every thing that had paſſed. The inhabitants and many of the ſoldiers of the garriſon crying out, "They were betrayed "by thoſe who were bound to defend them," roſe in a fury againſt the governor, the town-council, and ſuch of the officers as they ſuſpected: They ſhot one of the officers *; they wounded another. Hence the higheſt uproar and diviſion; for, while ſome were framing the terms of ſurrender, others were planting guns on the wall: In one place, the multitude was preſſed to yield to neceſſity; in another, voices were heard calling to fire upon thoſe who propoſed it.

During this ſtate of public diſtraction, James was ſeen ſlowly advancing with his army, to take poſſeſſion of a town which had ſent meſſengers to receive him: A ſight which increaſed the fears of the one party, and the rage of the other. At this inſtant, † advice was brought, that, on the oppoſite ſide of the town, Captain Murray, a brave officer, conſpicuous in perſon, and known to all, was advancing with impetuoſity, at the head of a body of

* M'Kenzie, p. 27. † Ibid. p. 28.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

of horſe, to prevent the ſurrender. Lundie ſent him orders to retire from the view of the inhabitants. But great numbers ſtretching their arms and bodies from the walls, and calling upon him by name, and upon all his followers whom they knew, to advance to their relief, he entered the place. In broken ſpeeches he called to the multitude who ſurrounded him as ſoon as he paſſed the gate, to remember glory, ſafety, religion, their country, themſelves, their poſterity, with other topics which natural paſſion dictated, or the preſent exigency required. He pointed to different perſons to ſecure the gates, to run to arms, to mount the walls, to point the guns. He directed all thoſe whoſe voices were for defending the town, to diſtinguiſh themſelves * by tying a white cloth round the left arm. From thence he haſtened to Lundie, then ſitting in a council †, whom he tried, but in vain, to ſooth with flattery, or rouſe by reproaches. In the mean time the multitude, kindled by the ardour of Murray's ſpirit, ruſhed to obey the orders they had received, fired upon King James, killed an officer by his ſide, and obliged him to retire.

When theſe violent actions were over, and the inhabitants reflected there were no regular troops among them, fear and conſciouſneſs of what they had done, and what they were to expect, ſeized them: They preſſed for the landing of the regiments: They offered to ſubmit to authority: They kept even Lundie a kind of priſoner in his own houſe to prevent his departure. Embracing thoſe officers whom chance threw in their way, they conjured them not to abandon them to the rage of an affronted enemy: They flattered, encouraged, reproached, menaced, but in vain. The remaining officers of the two regiments, with many officers of the garriſon, withdrew,

* M'Kenzie, p. 29. † Ibid.

withdrew, and ſailed to England. The leſs valiant part of the multitude, following their example, fled from the town. Lundie ſtole off with a load on his back: A diſgraceful diſguiſe, and ſuited to the man who bore it! About 7500 militia in arms remained to defend the place againſt an enemy, once their ſovereign, and at the head of 20,000 regular forces.

Men abandoned to themſelves, often exert a vigour, which, while they truſted to others, they knew not they poſſeſſed. The town was weak in its fortifications *, having only a wall eight or nine feet thick along the face of the rampart, a ditch, eight baſtions, and ſome outworks lately thrown up, and of little conſeqence. It was weaker in its artillery; there being no more than twenty ſerviceable guns on the works. Near 20,000 unarmed † hands increaſed the numbers, and diminiſhed the ſtrength of the place. But its beſt defence lay in the minds of its defenders: Men refined from all the droſs of their party, and poſſeſſed of the valour and enthuſiaſm of thoſe Scottiſh anceſtors from whom moſt of the inhabitants of Ulſter are deſcended. They offered the command of the place to Captain Murray: With the ingenuous frankneſs which is the common attendant of true courage, he anſwered, "He was better fitted for offenſive than de-"fenſive war;" and offered to take the command of the horſe. Major Baker was choſen governor: With that modeſty, which likewiſe accompanies true courage, he begged to have an aſſiſtant. The garriſon, under the impreſſions of religion which danger incites, choſe Mr Walker, a clergyman, to aſſiſt him; a man who hid a great and warlike ſpirit under the moſt peaceful of profeſſions. Theſe men formed the garriſon and inhabitants into a number of regiments proportioned to that of

* Walker, p. 5. † Ibid. p. 5. and 16. Ibid. M'Kenzie, p. 30.

PART. II. BOOK II. 1689.

of the baſtions: And, in order to create the greater emulation, they aſſigned different parts of the works to different regiments *, which they alone were to defend. The beſieged repaired their fortifications and artillery, as well as the ſhortneſs of the time would permit. They alarmed King James by continual ſallies in the day, in the night, in time of meals, in rain, in miſt. They deſtroyed his works; or, where ſucceſs failed them, they returned contented that they had haraſſed his troops. Theſe ſallies they made more formidable by a practice which pedants in the profeſſion of arms would have diſapproved †. When a ſally was to be made, the command was offered to whatever officer would undertake it; and the officer offered the ſervice to whatever ſoldiers would attend him: Hence competition among the officers: Hence confidence among the ſoldiers, who reaſoned upon the merits of thoſe who commanded them, and followed thoſe only in ſudden ſervices under whom they were ſure to conquer. Murray flew from man to man, and from body to body. Walker aſſembled them at ſermons. Murray cried out, "That it was not a few mi-
"litary evolutions, nor the movements of arms by rule,
"the mere parade and foppery of war, which made
"ſoldiers; but ſtrong bodies, ſtronger minds, the con-
"tempt of dangers and death: Or if, in regular fields
"of battle, diſciplined troops had the advantage over a
"militia, uſeleſs was that advantage here, where the
"defenders fought behind walls; a ſituation in which
"thoſe who could bear moſt fatigue, and durſt ſtand
"longeſt to their poſts, muſt in the end prevail in the
"conteſt." Walker pointed to their churches, to the ſky: "Theſe were the holy fanes, from which their
"enemies were to drive them, if they ſurvived, with
"diſgrace

* Walker, p. 16. † M'Kenzie, p. 32, 33.

" diſgrace: This the aſylum prepared for them by their " God, if they died with glory in his cauſe." The young animated the old: The old gave counſel, gave praiſes to the young: All were fired by hatred of the Catholic religion, enthuſiaſm for their own, and the dread of a vengeance proportioned to both. Perhaps too the ſpirit of competition, and the glory of defending a place which regular troops had abandoned, was equal to any of their other incitements. James continued his attacks unſucceſsfully during eleven days; and then went to Dublin to meet his parliament. He left the army under Hamilton to continue the ſiege.

Clamours in England on account of Londonderry.

Upon the report of theſe things in England, great murmurs aroſe againſt government, for leaving Ireland ſo defenceleſs. Pity for the brave defenders of Londonderry, deſerted by the ſoldiers who were ſent to defend them, mingled itſelf with diſcontent. The people, in their imaginations, tranſported themſelves into the town, ſaw the famine, and heard the cries of the beſieged calling in vain for help and for vengeance. Their ſufferings and dangers were augmented by diſtance; and upon that account, greater honours were paid to them. The complaints of the public turned next upon the officers of the fleet, " who cowardly, or inactive, or treach- " erous, (it was ſaid) had left their ſhips to rot in har- " bours, while the navies of France had been riding " triumphant on the ocean, and wafted a Prince, an " army, and civil war, into the dominions of her " enemy." Theſe complaints againſt the navy were increaſed by intelligence received, that the French had made another embarkation of ſtores, and ſome troops, for the ſervice of their allies in Ireland. Admiral Herbert was therefore diſpatched from Spithead, in queſt of the French fleet which was to conduct the embarka-

PART II. Book II. 1689.

tion; and orders were given for all the ſhips of war which were at hand to attend him, and for others to follow as faſt as they came into the ports of England, or could be equipped. Herbert took with him twelve ſhips of the line; nine others joined him at ſea.

Sea-fight of Bantry-bay.

At firſt he ſailed for France; but, having been driven off by eaſterly winds, he concluded it was better * to watch on the coaſt of Ireland, than on that of France. His opinion proved juſt: For, on the 29th of April, the French fleet commanded by Chateau Renaut, and conſiſting of about twenty-eight ſhips of the line †, was deſcried upon the coaſt of Ireland. By accidents of winds, and bad intelligence, Herbert did not approach the enemy, who were lying in Bantry-bay, until the 1ſt of May. He then crowded ſail to intercept them. But the French, conſcious of their ſuperiority, and perceiving his intention, weighed anchor, formed the line, and advanced in calm and regular order to meet him. The ardour of an Engliſh admiral, and of Engliſh ſeamen, for action, prevented Herbert's line from being formed with the ſame regularity. The French, who had the advantage of the wind, kept it all day, and ſhewed by their workings, to the aſtoniſhment of the Engliſh, and perhaps to their own, that their veſſels were equal in agility, and their ſeamen in dexterity, to thoſe of their antagoniſts. The battle laſted moſt of the day with equal ſucceſs. In the evening the Engliſh retired towards Scilly: the enemy, towards Ireland. No ſhips were loſt on either ſide; but ſeveral were diſabled. Each Admiral, as often happens in ſea-engagements, claimed the ſuperiority in public. But there was this difference in the private ſentiments of thoſe they commanded, that the Engliſh

‡ Gazette, May 6.

§ Doctor Campbell, v. 3. p. 7. and Gazette, May 6.

Engliſh officers and ſeamen accounted it a defeat, not to have been victorious on their own element: and the French termed it a victory, becauſe they were not defeated. The latter, however, made their diſembarkation good, and returned unmoleſted to their own country; which determined on whoſe ſide the advantage lay. When the news of this advantage reached Ireland, D'Avaux, the French ambaſſador, haſtened with joy to inform James that the Engliſh fleet had been defeated by the French. James, with a generous peeviſhneſs, anſwered: "C'eſt bien la premiere fois donc:" "It is "the firſt time then."

William, in order to prevent the bad ſucceſs of this firſt eſſay of his new arms from affecting the minds of the ſeamen, went down to Portſmouth, dined in the Admiral's ſhip, knighted two of the Captains, beſtowed a donative on the mariners, a peerage on Herbert, compliments on all. Though cold to courtiers, William was warm and cordial to men of the profeſſion of arms. Pleaſed with the attention, the ſeamen believed they had beat that enemy by whom a few days before they had acknowledged they were defeated.

Kirk ſent to relieve Londonderry;

But the acceſſion of ſtrength to James's party, by the diſembarkation from France, did not ſhake the reſolution of the faithful defenders of Londonderry. General Kirk had been ſent to them from England with proviſions, and a reinforcement of 5000 men. From different accidents, he did not arrive in the lake of Derry until the 13th of June. Upon the ſight of his fleet, which conſiſted of thirty ſail *, the beſieged gave the uſual ſalutations of joy: But, perceiving them received with ſilence, and no jovial returns made by the ſeamen, they looked upon each other with uncertain and foreboding

 eyes.

* Walker, p. 24.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

eyes. Soon after, they were informed, that Kirk, upon receiving information that the paſſage of the river to the town was ſecured by works, had reſolved to retire to the Inch, an iſland ſix miles from Londonderry. Theſe works * were batteries along the banks, veſſels ſunk in the channel, and a boom which had been thrown a-croſs the river, and which was defended by two forts; and all theſe were reported to be much ſtronger than they were. Upon theſe ſad news, the beſieged made ſignals of diſtreſs from their ſteeples to Kirk, but in vain. After † a ſhort ſtay, he ſet ſail; the inhabitants of the town following his ſhips with their eyes as long as they could perceive them, and with their imaginations when they could ſee them no longer. Kirk choſe the Inch for his ſtation ‡; becauſe it facilitated the junction of the volunteers, who lay at Inniſkillin, with his detachment; and for that reaſon too he fortified it. From thence he ſent a letter to the townſmen, aſſuring them, in terms full of affectation, that every thing in Scotland, England, and Ireland, was proſperous, and that ſuccours beyond their wiſhes were ſpeedily to join them; but he concluded with giving them in charge to huſband well their proviſions: A letter more alarming than all the menaces of the enemy.

but retires to the Inch.

Great ſpirit of the beſieged.

But the beſieged, though in a deſperate condition, did not give themſelves up to deſpair: Not contented with making ſallies, and defending the old out works of the place, they even advanced new ones §, and became expert in fortification and mining, by imitating the arts which were employed againſt them. The women attended every ſervice ‖, animating the men by their cries, and often aſſiſting them with ther hands. All the ſpare time

* M'Kenzie, p. 38. † Gazette, July 8. ‡ Hamilton.
§ Walker, p. 28. M'Kenzie, p. 34. and 40. ‖ Ibid. p. 36.

time of the garriſon and of the inhabitants was ſpent in private prayer or public devotion. Yet, it was ſtrange, amidſt the union created by common danger, to ſee religious diviſions break forth*; for the conformiſts and non-conformiſts inſiſted each to have poſſeſſion of the cathedral; nor could mutual ſlaughter have been prevented, had it not been agreed that the one claſs ſhould attend ſervice in the forenoon, the other in the afternoon. About the middle of June, when the weather grew ſultry, diſeaſe at laſt ſeized them, cooped up in a narrow place. They † buried fifteen officers in one day. Baker their governor died. Yet even death in this form, more diſmal than in that of war, diſmayed them not. Their proviſions being ſpent, they preſerved life by eating horſe-fleſh, tallow, ſtarch, ſalted hides, impure animals, and roots of vegetables. When their cannon-ball was near ſpent, they made uſe of brick covered with lead ‡. In this ſituation, General Hamilton preſſed them to ſurrender, upon conditions which were reaſonable. Their anſwer conſiſted in aſking ||, "If he thought they "could truſt one who had betrayed the truſt which their "maſter had put in him?"

1689.

James, tired with the tedioufneſs of the ſiege, and alarmed at Kirk's arrival, ſent Mareſchal Roſen, his commander in chief, in the end of June, to urge matters with more vigour §. Roſen, having more knowledge in the arts of attacking places than the Iriſh Generals, changed the diſpoſitions, inveſted the place more cloſely, and made many furious but ineffectual aſſaults. At length, provoked by the fidelity of the garriſon, inſtead of honouring it, he took a ſtep unparalleled in modern ages;

Barbarity of Marſhal Roſen.

* Mackenzie, p. 32. and 33. † Ibid. p. 39. ‡ Walker, p. 28. M'Kenzie, p. 39. || Walker, p. 29. and 51. § Ibid. p. 27. and 28. M'Kenzie, p. 40.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

ages: He gave orders that all the inhabitants, ten miles round Londonderry, ſhould be driven under the walls of the town: He ordered the country to be burnt: He proclaimed, if the town did not ſurrender before ten days were elapſed, that all the inhabitants within it ſhould be put to the ſword. 5000, or, as other writers relate, 7000 miſerable wretches, who were collected from the country around, men, women, the old, the young, even the ſick, and nurſes with infants hanging on the breaſt, all were driven, with drawn ſwords, under the walls of the town. This device weakened the ſpirits of James's army by its horror, and ſtrengthened thoſe of the beſieged by turning a ſedate into a furious valour. Many of the priſoners * called to their friends on the walls above them, "To attend to their own intereſts, not theirs: For that a ſurrender to men void of all Chriſtian humanity could not ſave thoſe who were without, and would only involve thoſe who were within in one common ſlaughter." The Iriſh officers executed their orders againſt their countrymen, weeping and obeying; and many of them † owned that the cries they then heard rang for ever after in their ears. The beſieged, on the other hand, erecting a gibbet on the baſtion neareſt the enemy, gave orders to hang up whatever priſoners fell into their hands, and wrote to the ‡ enemy to ſend prieſts to confeſs them. During two days and two nights, the unhappy victims of Roſen's reſentment continued at the foot of the walls §, without meat, drink, fire, or ſhelter, where many hundreds of them died. At the end of that time, ſuch of them as were able to go away were permitted to do ſo. But thoſe who died were the moſt fortunate: For, the others, filled

July 2.

* Walker, p. 32. M'Kenzie, p. 43. † Walker, p. 30.
‡ Ibid. p. 32. § Story.

ed with the ſeeds of diſeaſes, and with dejection, as they wandered homewards, beheld on all ſides their habitations in aſhes, here and there at diſtances the ſmoke of ſome not extinguiſhed, their cattle, furniture, proviſions carried off: A vaſt ſilence reigned over the land: And they envied their companions who were at reſt from their miſeries. It would be inhuman to the memory of the unhappy, to impute the diſgrace of this action to James: He * revoked the order as ſoon as he heard of it: becauſe his own ſufferings had probably taught him to feel for thoſe of others.

Kirk, in the mean time, heard the cries and ſaw the fires, though enraged, yet perhaps not diſpleaſed to ſee his own character for cruelty exceeded. At laſt, receiving intelligence, that the garriſon, ſunk with fatigues, had ſent propoſals of capitulation, and that they had proviſions only for two days, he reſolved upon an attempt to throw a convoy of proviſions into the place, by means of three victual frigates and a man of war to cover them: An attempt, upon the ſucceſs of which, it was obvious to all, the loſs or ruin of the town could not fail to depend.

London-derry relieved.

As ſoon as theſe veſſels approached the town upon the 30th of July, the Iriſh army haſtened to that ſide; ſome to oppoſe them, and the reſt to gratify their curioſity. That part of the garriſon which was not upon duty ranged themſelves along the walls neareſt the river, with eyes intent, and hands lifted up to heaven for the ſucceſs of the convoy. Kirk had been deceived in the ſtrength of the enemy's works. The ſhip of war too, by galling the enemy's batteries, drew their fire upon itſelf, and thus ſaved the victuallers from danger. The foremoſt of the victuallers †, at the firſt ſhock, broke the boom;

* Archbiſhop King, p. 197. † M'Kenzie, p. 46.

PART. II. BOOK II. 1689.

boom; but ran aground by the turn which this gave to her course. A shout burst from the besiegers, as from the mouth of one man, which echoed to the ships, the camp, and the town. Multitudes of them quitting their ranks, flew to the shore, and plunged into the water: Some pushed off with their hands the boats they found there; others leaped into them; all advanced, or called to advance, against the vessel in distress. The smoke of the enemy's fire, and of her own, covered her from the sight of the besieged. During this darkness and confusion, the * besiegers called from the opposite side of the river, that the vessel was taken: A shrill cry of misery, like the wailings of women, was heard from the walls. The common paleness of fear appeared not upon men who had lost all sense of it: For one †, who was an eye-witness, relates, that in the depth of despair, they looked black in the eyes of each other. But, in a little time, the victualler was seen emerging from the smoke, having got off by the rebound of her own guns; and she and her followers, amidst the tumultuous cries of both parties, sailed up to the town.

The minute enumeration of circumstances in history needs no apology, when they are the causes of great events. Upon the fortune of this convoy turned the fate of Londonderry, and perhaps of Ireland. For, next day, the enemy, after a siege of three months and a half, quitted their enterprise, conscious they could hope for success from famine alone, not from their swords. The garrison was found to be reduced from 7500 men to about 4000, of which 1000 were rendered ‡ unfit for service: And the remaining part scarcely deserved to be called men; as, by watching and famine, they had rather the appearance of shadows. Their eyes being hol-

low

* Walker, p. 35. † M'Kenzie, p. 45. ‡ Walker, p. 36.

low and ſunk beneath their brows, there appeared, in the expreſſion of their looks, rather ſigns of reſentment that their enemies had eſcaped, than of joy that themſelves were free: Even to their friends who reſcued them, thoſe dark looks ſeemed to mark the remembrance that their relief had ſo often been called for in vain: Of the unarmed multitude, about 7000 had periſhed by famine, diſeaſes, or the ſhot of the enemy: The ſupply of proviſions was received with ſilent gratitude, as if it had been a gift from heaven, not with the noiſy rejoicings uſual upon ſuch occaſions; the garriſon, in a long and devout order, repaired in proceſſion to church, checking the effuſion of their joy, until they had returned thanks to that God who was the author of their relief.

The example of the inhabitants of Londonderry raiſed emulation in the other proteſtant Iriſh. About this time, 2500 Inniſkillingmen*, under the command of Colonel Wolſey, defeated 6000 of Tyrconnel's Iriſh troops, at Newton Butler. 2000 were killed, 500 drowned in a lake, when trying to eſcape, and 300 taken priſoners. Their commander, General Macartney, refuſed to ſurvive his diſgrace by flying or taking quarter. He was taken, covered with wounds, and only ceaſing to fight becauſe he was unable to ſtand. The ſole fear he expreſſed was, leſt none of his wounds ſhould prove mortal.

Fate of the garriſon.

Could hiſtory confine herſelf to the recital of glorious actions alone, her pictures would for ever be pleaſing: But, if ſhe purſues them to their concluſions, the ſad lot of humanity often tears down the beautiful trophies ſhe has reared. The regiments, having conſented to continue in ſervice, were modelled † by the unfeeling Kirk: He reduced many of the officers; ſome he degraded to lower ranks; and filled the places of both with dependants

* Hamilton. † Mackenzie, p. 47.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

he had brought with him from England. Instead of keeping these bands of friends together, he draughted one half of the men, and transferred them to regiments, in which their actions and their virtues were unknown. From the brave Murray, under pretence of the necessity of service, he took the war-horse, which had so often carried him into the ranks of the enemy. Walker, having been sent over with the news to the King, was rewarded with money, not with rank in life, which the high-minded covet far more than gold. This man was afterwards killed at the battle of the Boyne: When the King was told of it, he is reported to have said, "Fool that he was, "what had he to do there?" Words which dishonoured the living, not the dead! By a partiality inseparable from all free governments, because government itself depends often on those whom it commands, no higher punishment was inflicted upon Lundie, for betraying Richards and Cunninghame, than upon those officers whose only crime was that they had been betrayed. All three were dismissed the service: A punishment too small for him, too great for them!

May 7. James assembles the Irish parliament.

In the mean time, James had assembled his Irish Parliament at Dublin. Only six protestants were returned to the house of commons; and of the protestant peers, only five Lords and four Bishops gave their attendance. His speech to the parliament, and some of his public papers, were full of compliments to the Irish papists and the French, and of complaints against his English subjects: Topics which he might have avoided without offence to the former, but which were of all others the most galling to the latter; because the one roused an old jealousy, the other gave a new provocation. By proposing too in his speech to pass laws for the advancement of trade, and the aggrandizing of the nation, he appeared to the English to have formed a system for abolishing the dependence of Ireland

Ireland upon England, and for creating a rivalſhip in commerce and empire between the two nations. The parliament drew up two addreſſes, one of loyalty to James, the other of thanks to Lewis XIV. And they paſſed an act, which aſſerted the independence of the Iriſh parliament, and courts of juſtice, upon thoſe of England: Meaſures which were only wanting, to make him completely unpopular in England *.

Iriſh parliament revokes the act of ſettlement.

Two acts were paſſed in this aſſembly, which ſeemed to have been framed by madmen. The one revoked the act of ſettlement; the other was an act of attainder. By the act of ſettlement, the lands forfeited for the rebellion, which began in the year 1641, had been veſted in thoſe who, upon a ſolemn trial and examination, had proved they had right to them. The ſettlement had been confirmed by two acts of parliament, and by ſundry patents from the two late Kings. The Lords Lieutenant had declared to the parliaments, and the judges at their circuits to the counties, the reſolution of thoſe princes to ſupport it. The new proprietors had reared buildings, and made improvements, and third parties had purchaſed, lent money, and entered into marriage-articles, upon the faith of the act of ſettlement. By accident, moſt of the lands had paſſed from their original proprietors, who had been papiſts and in rebellion, into the hands of proteſtants. The poſterity of the firſt peoprietors, therefore, now brought a bill into parliament, for revoking the act of ſettlement, and reſtoring the eſtates to the heirs of their ancient proprietors. The motion was received with an huzza, and the bill paſſed in an inſtant. Proviſion was made in the act, that reſtitution of the purchaſe-money ſhould be made to the preſent proprietors out of the eſtates of King William's adherents: A proviſion which, had it

* The public papers are in Ralph.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

taken place, must have entailed division and discord upon Ireland for ever! This act drove the protestants, two thirds of whose land estates it took from them, to despair: It hurt even sundry Roman Catholics who had become purchasers, and alarmed the minds of all men with fears concerning the security of property. James gave ten thousand pounds a year out of his own estates, to make some reparation to the unhappy sufferers. But in this action people did not so much observe his humanity, as his consciousness of the injustice of the law he had passed.

And frames a cruel bill of attainder.

The act of attainder was still more unjust and unpolitic: Near 3000 persons were forfeited by it; among whom were two archbishops, one duke, seventeen earls, seven countesses, twenty-eight viscounts, two viscountesses, seven bishops, eighteen barons, thirty-three baronets, fifty-one knights, eighty-three clergymen; the rest were gentlemen. The attainder comprehended many whose constant residence was in Britain, and whose rebellion was only inferred from their not having returned to Ireland, when James issued a proclamation, ordering all his Irish subjects to leave England: An order which it was impossible for them to obey, because there was an embargo between the two kingdoms. The estates of all those who were detained in Britain by sickness, non-age, or other incapacities were vested in the crown until their proprietors should bring proof of their loyalty: A regulation the most extraordinary in the records of mankind! because it inflicted a punishment, not because guilt was proved, but until innocence was proved. By these two acts, almost the whole land-property of the protestants was swept off.

Other conduct of parliament.

This parliament passed an act in favour of liberty of conscience: But they made two others attend it; one enacting that all tythes payable by papists should be paid to popish priests; the other, that the stipends for the support of protestant ministers in the towns should cease: So that

1689.

Exercise of government in Ireland.

that the paſtors of that communion were every where deprived of their maintenance *.

The exerciſe of government correſponded with ſuch laws. Although the French profeſſed themſelves willing at all times to ſend troops and ſtores of war to James, they continually refuſed † to advance him money. Hence, when the parliament gave him a tax of 20,000*l.* a month, upon real eſtates, he found himſelf under a neceſſity to levy, by authority of his own proclamation, 20,000 more upon perſonal eſtates; and to coin braſs money, which he cauſed to paſs, by another proclamation, at fourteen times its value, for a million ſterling. The abuſe of office continually attends the poverty of kings: The proteſtants finding it neceſſary to purchaſe protections againſt the Raparees, a ſpecies of popiſh banditti, from the officers of the army to whom the care of the peace was committed, the protections were ſold at extravagant rates; and the officers were often changed, to afford new pretences for the renewal of the protections. The rates of goods, which were needed for public ſervice, having been fixed by proclamation, James's officers, who had the charge of bringing them in, and who were all popiſh, took them moſtly from proteſtant owners, and made their payments moſtly in the baſe coin. The tranſition is rapid from the abuſe of office to the violation of the law itſelf: All the ſchools were taken from the proteſtant teachers; the members of the univerſity were turned out; the biſhoprics kept vacant, and their profits beſtowed upon popiſh prieſts; the proteſtant churches were ſeized by papiſts wherever they had power, under the pretence that theſe had been originally the property of their anceſtors; and to crown all, the proteſtants, notwithſtanding the act for liberty of conſcience, were forbidden, by proclama-

* Archbiſhop King.

† This is confirmed by the Iriſh papers in the Paper-office.

tion,

PART II. BOOK II.

tion, to assemble in churches or elsewhere, under pain of death.

1689.

James's own conduct.

James opposed sundry of these violent measures, but in vain: The protestants having called upon him in different applications to preserve his faith, and to give them that protection he had often promised, he was reduced to the cruel alternative of submitting to the imputation of breaking his word, or to the mortification of confessing his inability to keep it. Every day made him sensible how weak is the condition of a prince, whose subjects can reproach him with their services. The house of commons having opposed him in a particular measure: "I see," said he, "all commons are the same:" Words marking equally the depth of past resentment and of present uneasiness! The same house having sent him a remonstrance against the secretary of state, Lord Melfort, James answered, "I would not have come amongst you, if I had "known you would not have allowed me to chuse my "own servants." The jarring of the French and Irish factions too tormented him. They had formed themselves into two regular parties in the court and the camp; they hindered his service by obstructing each other, and took all importance from him by assuming it to themselves. He grew at last peevish and dejected; and, in a nation which was then the most disorderly in Europe, allowed every thing to run its own natural course of confusion. The Irish Catholics called this confusion, independence upon England; and his French auxiliaries accounted the miseries of neighbouring countries to be the happiness of their own. In one instance, however, he resumed the monarch against the suggestions of both *: For the commons having passed a bill for the reversal of Poyning's act, which makes the statutes passed in Ireland to be dependent, for their authority, upon the privy council of

* Archbishop King's Story.

England,

England, James sent an order to stop it, and is reported to have said, "I will not hurt my kingdom, although I "no longer reign in it."

Dundee's exploits.

The fury of civil war was not confined to Ireland: As soon as the news of James's arrival in that country was brought into Scotland, the impetuous Lord Dundee hastened to Inverness, upon receiving intelligence that a quarrel about a debt had arisen between the town's-people, and some of the clans of Lochaber, and that these clans were assembled in arms in the neighbourhood of the town. He conferred at first with the chiefs on each side, separately, in private: And then, having convened all in public, he loaded them with reproaches, "That they, "who were all equally friends to King James, were pre- "paring, at a time when he most needed their friend- "ship, to draw those daggers against each other, which "ought to be plunged only into the breasts of his ene- "mies *." He then paid the debt in dispute with his own money, and prevailed upon most of those, who had so lately stood under opposite banners, to inlist under his own. He insinuated to the highland chieftains, on the borders of the Earl of Argyle's country, upon some of whose estates the Earl had old claims in law, and others of whom had got grants of part of his estate from the crown when he was attainted, "that new governments "produced new favours and new laws: Weak would be "their interest at court, and in courts of justice, against a "competitor who had done so much to place the crown "upon the head of the new king." Lord Athole, Lord Tarbet, and Lord Breadalbane, men of great power in the north, were prevailed upon † to give him no disturbance; the two first, because they thought themselves neglected by the new government; the last to make himself

May 1.

* General M'Kay's manuscript memoirs, written by himself. † Ibid.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

neceſſary to it. Dundee had friends * in the privy council, who ſuggeſted advices which were given by himſelf, and gave him intelligence of every reſolution that was formed againſt his meaſures: He even ſecretly gained † ſome officers of the regiments which he knew were to be ſent againſt him.

From Inverneſs he marched with incredible ſwiftneſs through different parts of the highlands, to rouſe the highlanders to arms, and to diſperſe the militia which were raiſed againſt him. His force, ſmall at firſt, increaſed as he marched along, till it amounted to ſix thouſand men. Lord Murray, ſon of Lord Athole, had raiſed 1000 men upon his father's eſtate, and that of Lord Lovat, who was married to his ſiſter, under an aſſurance given them ‡ of ſerving the late king; but in reality to make them ſerviceable to the new government. This body Lord Dundee now carried off with him; a deſertion from two of their own chieftains, unknown before among highlanders! but it aroſe partly from their admiration of Dundee, and partly from their indignation againſt Lord Murray's breach of faith to themſelves. While Murray was reviewing them, they quitted their ranks, ran to an adjoining brook, filled their bonnets with water, drank to King James's health, and, with pipes playing, marched off to Lord Dundee. Simon Frazer §, afterwards Lord Lovat, who, fifty-eight years after this period, loſt his head on Tower-hill, for his adherence to the cauſe of the houſe of Stuart, was the perſon, then a youth, and a cadet of the Lovat family, who managed this revolt. General M'Kay was ſent after Dundee with a force nearly equal in number to his own: But there was this difference between the two, that M'Kay's regular troops ſerved for pay; Dundee's irregulars were incited by the love of war.

* General M'Kay's manuſcript memoirs. † Ibid.

‡ Lord Lovat's manuſcript memoirs, written by himſelf. § Ibid.

To

1689.

To mark the singular features of singular characters is one of the chief provinces of history. Dundee had inflamed his mind from his earliest youth, by the perusal of ancient poets, historians, and orators, with the love of the great actions they praise and describe. He is reported to have inflamed it still more, by listening to the ancient songs of the highland bards. He entered into the profession of arms with an opinion, that he ought to know the services of different nations, and the duties of different ranks: With this view, he went into several foreign services; and when he could not obtain a command, served as a volunteer. At the battle of Seneffe, he saved the Prince of Orange's life. Soon after, he asked one of the Scotch regiments in the Dutch service. The Prince being pre-engaged, refused his request. Upon this he quitted the Dutch service, saying, "The soldier who has "not gratitude cannot be brave." His reputation, and his services against the covenanters, obtained him a regiment from Charles II. and a peerage and high command in the army from his successor. In his exploits against these men, his behaviour had been sullied by the imputation of cruelty: He excused himself by saying, "That, "if terror ended or prevented war, it was true mercy."

His character.

Dundee had orders from his master not to fight M'Kay, until a large force which was promised from Ireland should join him: Hence he was kept during two months, cooped up in the mountains, furious from restraint. He was obliged, continually, to shift his quarters by prodigious marches, in order to avoid, or harass his enemy's army, to obtain provisions, and sometimes to take advantages *: The first messenger of his approach, was generally his own army in sight: The first intelligence of his retreat brought accounts, that he was already out of his enemy's

* M'Kay's MS.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

reach. In ſome of thoſe marches *, his men wanted bread, ſalt, and all liquors, except water, during ſeveral weeks; yet were aſhamed to complain, when they obſerved, that their commander lived not more delicately than themſelves. If any thing good was brought him to eat, he ſent it to a faint or ſick ſoldier: If a ſoldier was weary, he offered to carry his arms. He kept thoſe who were with him from ſinking under their fatigues, not ſo much by exhortation, as by preventing them from attending to their ſufferings. For this reaſon he walked on foot with the men; now by the ſide of one clan, and anon by that of another: He amuſed them with jokes: He flattered them with his knowledge of their genealogies: He animated them by a recital of the deeds of their anceſtors, and of the verſes of their bards. It was one of his maxims, that no general ſhould fight with an irregular army, unleſs he was acquainted with every man he commanded. Yet, with theſe habits of familiarity, the ſeverity of his diſcipline was dreadful: The only puniſhment he inflicted was death: "All other puniſhments," he ſaid, "diſgraced a gentleman, and all who were with him "were of that rank; but that death was a relief from the "conſciouſneſs of crime." It is reported of him, that, having ſeen a youth fly in his firſt action, he pretended he had ſent him to the rear on a meſſage: The youth fled a ſecond time: He brought him to the front of the army, and ſaying, "That a gentleman's ſon ought not to fall by "the hands of the common executioner," ſhot him with his own piſtol.

The army he commanded was moſtly compoſed of highlanders from the interior parts of the highlands: A people untouched by the Roman or Saxon invaſions on the ſouth, and by thoſe of the Danes on the eaſt and weſt ſkirts of their country: The unmixed remains of

* Dundee's memoirs.

that

that Celtic empire, which once ſtretched from the pillars of Hercules to Archangel. As the manners of this race of men were, in the days of our fathers, the moſt ſingular in Europe, and, in thoſe of our ſons, may be found nowhere but in the records of hiſtory, it is proper here to deſcribe them.

Manners of the highlanders, with their cauſes.

The highlanders were compoſed of a number of tribes called *Clans*, each of which bore a different name, and lived upon the lands of a different chieftain. The members of every tribe were tied one to another, not only by the feudal but by the patriarchal bond: For, while the individuals who compoſed it were vaſſals or tenants of their own hereditary chieftain, they were alſo all deſcended from his family, and could count exactly the degree of their deſcent: And the right of primogeniture, together with the weakneſs of the laws to reach inacceſſible countries, and more inacceſſible men, had, in the revolution of centuries, converted theſe natural principles of connection between the chieftain and his people, into the moſt ſacred ties of human life *. The caſtle of the chieftain

* It was the junction of the feudal and patriarchal authority, paſſing by the right of primogeniture from chieftain to chieftain, in a narrow country, and where the diviſions of land-property were aſcertained, which has diſtinguiſhed the highland tribes from all others known in the hiſtory of mankind. The Hebrews had tribes founded on the connection of relation; but the patriarchal idea was ſoon loſt in the want of a ſucceſſive patriarch, and the love of the tribe in the too great number of individuals who compoſed it. The Greeks and Romans had tribes; but the only lines by which they were diſtinguiſhed, were the quarters of the city in which they happened to live. The ancient Germans had tribes in their own country; but theſe were aſſociations of fellow-ſoldiers under a commander they choſe, not of relations under the common head of the family, to whom their obedience was thought due. The ancient Scythians and modern Tartars were divided into tribes of relations; but as they continually ſhifted their habitations, they wanted thoſe arts of life and civilization, which are connected with the eſtabliſhment of property in land, and with the regular tranſition of it from father to ſon. None of the barbarous bands, which made violent ſettlements in the Roman provinces, when that empire fell, had names

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

tain was a kind of palace, to which every man of his tribe was made welcome, and where he was entertained according to his ſtation in time of peace, and to which all flocked at the ſound of war. Thus the meaneſt of the clan, knowing himſelf to be as well born as the head of it, revered in his chieftain his own honour; loved in his clan his own blood; complained not of the difference of ſtation into which fortune had thrown him; and reſpected himſelf: The chieftain in return beſtowed a protection, founded equally on gratitude and the conſciouſneſs of his own intereſt. Hence the highlanders, whom more ſavage nations called ſavage, carried, in the outward expreſſion of their manners, the politeneſs of courts without their vices, and, in their boſoms, the high point of honour without its follies.

In countries where the ſurface is rugged, and the climate uncertain, there is little room for the uſe of the plough; and where no coal is to be found, and few proviſions can be raiſed, there is ſtill leſs for that of the anvil and ſhuttle. As the highlanders were, upon theſe accounts, excluded from extenſive agriculture and manufacture alike, every family raiſed juſt as much grain, and made as much raiment as ſufficed for itſelf; and nature, whom art can ſeldom force, deſtined them to the life of ſhepherds. Hence, they had not that exceſs of induſtry which reduces man to a machine, nor that total want of it which ſinks him into a rank of animals below his own.

common to the individuals of the band; becauſe they were parts of nations, and not of families. The Iriſh had tribes, diſtinguiſhed by a common name borne by the individuals, and connected by a common relation; but the rule of thaniſtry in ſucceſſion, which gave the election of the heir to the lord, broke all reverence for primogeniture, and was a continual ſource of diſcord among the members. The native Americans live in tribes, in a manner reſembling the patriarchal life; but while, from their common relation, every member is bound to another, the whole, from the want of the feudal ſubordination, and from the exceſſive independence of individuals, are not bound to one head.

They

They lived in villages built in vallies and by the ſides of rivers. At two ſeaſons of the year, they were buſy; the one in the end of ſpring and beginning of ſummer, when they put the plough into the little land they had capable of receiving it, ſowed their grain, and laid in their proviſion of turf for the winter's fewel; the other juſt before winter, when they reaped their harveſt: The reſt of the year was all their own, for amuſement or for war. If not engaged in war, they indulged themſelves in ſummer in the moſt delicious of all pleaſures to men in a cold climate and a romantic country, the enjoyment of the ſun, and of the ſummer-views of nature; never in the houſe during the day, even ſleeping often at night in the open air, among the mountains and woods. They ſpent the winter in the chaſe, while the ſun was up; and, in the evening, aſſembling round a common fire, they entertained themſelves with the ſong, the tale, and the dance: But they were ignorant of ſitting days and nights at games of ſkill or of hazard;—amuſements which keep the body in inaction, and the mind in a ſtate of vicious activity!

The want of a good, and even of a fine ear for muſic, was almoſt unknown amongſt them; becauſe it was kept in continual practice, among the multitude from paſſion, but by the wiſer few, becauſe they knew that the love of muſic both heightened the courage and ſoftened the tempers of their people. Their vocal muſic was plaintive even to the depth of melancholy; their inſtrumental either lively for briſk dances, or martial for the battle. Some of their tunes even contained the great but natural idea of a hiſtory deſcribed in muſic: The joys of a marriage; the noiſe of a quarrel; the ſounding to arms; the rage of a battle; the broken diſorder of a flight; the whole concluding with the ſolemn dirge, and lamentation for the ſlain. By the loudneſs and artificial diſſonance of their war inſtrument the bag-pipe, which played continually

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

nually in time of action, their ſpirits were exalted to a phrenzy of courage in battle.

They joined the pleaſures of hiſtory and poetry to thoſe of muſic, and the love of claſſical learning to both. For, in order to cheriſh high ſentiments in the minds of all, every conſiderable family had a hiſtorian who recounted, and a bard who ſung, the deeds of the clan, and of its chieftain: And all, even the loweſt in ſtation, were ſent to ſchool in their youth; partly becauſe they had nothing elſe to do at that age; and partly becauſe literature was thought the diſtinction, not the want of it the mark, of good birth.

The ſeverity of their climate, the height of their mountains, the diſtance of their villages from each other, their love of the chaſe and of war, with their deſire to viſit and be viſited, forced them to great bodily exertions. The vaſtneſs of the objects which ſurrounded them, lakes, mountains, rocks, cataracts, extended and elevated their minds: For they were not in the ſtate of men who only know the way from one market-town to another. Their want of regular occupation led them, like the ancient Spartans, to contemplation, and the powers of converſation: Powers which they exerted in ſtriking out the original thoughts which nature ſuggeſted, not in languidly repeating thoſe which they had learned from other people.

They valued themſelves, without undervaluing other nations. They loved to quit their own country to ſee and to hear, adopted eaſily the manners of others, and were attentive and inſinuating wherever they went: But they loved more to return home, to repeat what they had obſerved; and, among other things, to relate with aſtoniſhment, that they had been in the midſt of great ſocieties, where every individual made his ſenſe of independence to conſiſt in keeping at a diſtance from another. Yet they

did not think themſelves entitled to hate or deſpiſe the manners of ſtrangers, becauſe theſe differed from their own. For they revered the great qualities of other nations; and only made their failings the ſubject of an inoffenſive merriment among themſelves.

When ſtrangers came amongſt them, they received them, not with a ceremony which forbids a ſecond viſit, not with a coldneſs which cauſes repentance of the firſt, not with an embarraſſment which leaves the landlord and his gueſt in equal miſery, but with the moſt pleaſing of all politeneſs, the ſimplicity and cordiality of affection to human-kind; proud to give that hoſpitality which they had not received, and to humble the perſons who had thought of them with contempt, by ſhewing how little they deſerved it.

Having been driven from the low countries of Scotland by invaſion, they, from time immemorial, thought themſelves entitled to make repriſals upon the property of their invaders; but they touched not that of each other: So that, in the ſame men, there appeared, to thoſe who did not look into the cauſes of things, a ſtrange mixture of vice and of virtue: For, what we call theft and rapine, they termed right and juſtice. But, from the practice of theſe repriſals, they acquired the habits of being enterpriſing, artful, and bold.

An injury done to one of a clan, was held to be an injury done to all, on account of the common relation of blood. Hence the highlanders were in the habitual practice of war: And hence their attachment to their chieftain, and to each other, was founded upon the two moſt active principles of human nature, love of their friends, and reſentment againſt their enemies.

But the frequency of war tempered its ferocity. They bound up the wounds of their priſoners, while they neglected

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

lected their own; and in the perſon of an enemy, reſpected and pitied the ſtranger.

They went always completely armed: A faſhion, which by accuſtoming them to the inſtruments of death, removed the fear of death itſelf; and which, from the danger of provocation, made the common people as polite, and as guarded in their behaviour, as the gentry of other countries.

From theſe combined circumſtances, the higher ranks and the lower ranks of the highlanders alike, joined that refinement of ſentiment, which, in all other nations, is peculiar to the former, to that ſtrength and hardineſs of body, which, in other countries, is poſſeſſed only by the latter.

To be modeſt as well as brave; to be contented with the few things which nature requires; to act and to ſuffer without complaining; to be as much aſhamed of doing any thing inſolent or injurious to others, as of bearing it when done to themſelves; and to die with pleaſure, to revenge affronts offered to their clan or their country: Theſe they accounted their higheſt accompliſhments.

Their chriſtianity was ſtrongly tinctured with traditions derived from the ancient bards of their country: For they were believers in ghoſts: They marked the appearances of the heavens; and, by the forms of the clouds, which in their variable climate were continually ſhifting, were induced to gueſs at preſent, and to predict future events; and they even thought, that to ſome men the Divinity had communicated a portion of his own preſcience. From this mixture of ſyſtem, they did not enter much into diſputes concerning the particular modes of chriſtianity; but every man followed, with indifference of ſentiment, the mode which his chieftain had aſſumed. Perhaps, to the ſame cauſe it is owing, that their country is

1689.

is the only one in Europe, into which perſecution never entered.

Their dreſs, which was the laſt remains of the Roman habit in Europe, was well ſuited to the nature of their country, and ſtill better to the neceſſities of war. It conſiſted of a roll of light woollen, called a plaid, ſix yards in length, and two in breadth, girt like the Roman toga around the waiſt, and wrapped looſely about the body, the upper lappet of which reſted on the left ſhoulder, leaving the right arm at full liberty; a jacket of thick cloth, fitted tightly to the body; and, in later times, a looſe ſhort garment of light woollen, which went round the waiſt and covered the thigh. In rain, they formed the plaid into folds, and, laying it on the ſhoulders, were covered as with a roof. When they were obliged to lie abroad in the hills, in their hunting parties, or tending their cattle, or in war, the plaid ſerved them both for bed and for covering; for, when three men ſlept together, they could ſpread three folds of cloth below, and ſix above them. The garters of their ſtockings were tied under the knee, with a view to give more freedom to the limb; and they wore no breeches, that they might climb mountains with the greater eaſe. The covering of their head was a broad round woollen bonnet, but of the ſtrongeſt milled texture, calculated equally to ſave from cold, from rain, or from the ſtrokes of an enemy; the moſt ſimple of all head-dreſſes: Yet, by turning up the front of the bonnet, which was the token of defiance, they gave it a martial air; and, by adding a bunch of foliage or feathers, even a fine one. The lightneſs and looſeneſs of their dreſs, the cuſtom they had of going always on foot, never on horſeback, their love of long journeys, but above all, that patience of hunger, and every kind of hardſhip, which carried their bodies forward even after their ſpirits were exhauſted, made them exceed all other European na-

Their dreſs, armour, and manner of war.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

tions in ſpeed and perſeverance of march. Montroſe's marches * were ſometimes ſixty miles in a day, without food or halting, over mountains, along rocks, through moraſſes. In encampments, they were expert at forming beds in a moment, by tying together bunches of heath, and fixing them upright in the ground: An art which, as the beds were both ſoft and dry, preſerved their health in the field, when other ſoldiers loſt theirs.

The inclemency of their weather gave a rigidity to their features, becauſe it forced them to draw up the cheek for the protection of the eye; yet this contraction gave a fire to the eye. In work they were awkward; but in exerciſe they ſhewed all that variety of natural grace which continually attends the human form when not faſhioned by art, and unconſcious of obſervation.

Their arms were a broad ſword, a dagger called a durk, a target, a muſket, and a piſtol: So that they carried the long ſword of the Celtes, the pugio of the Romans, the ſhield of the ancients, and both kinds of modern fire-arms, all together. In battle, they threw away the plaid and under garment, and fought in their jackets, making thus their movements quicker, and their ſtrokes more forcible. Their advance to battle was rapid, like the charge of dragoons: When near the enemy, they ſtopped a little to draw breath and diſcharge their muſkets, which they then dropped on the ground: Advancing, they fired their piſtols, which they threw, almoſt at the ſame inſtant, againſt the heads of their opponents: And then ruſhed into the ranks with the broad-ſword, threatening, and ſhaking the ſword as they ran on, ſo as to conquer the enemy's eye, while his body was yet unhurt. They fought, not in long and regular lines, but in ſeparate bands, like wedges condenſed and firm; the army being ranged according to the clans which compoſed it, and each clan according to its families; ſo that there aroſe a

* Biſhop Wiſhart.

competition

competition in valour of clan with clan, of family with family, of brother with brother. To make an opening in regular troops, and to conquer, they reckoned the ſame thing; becauſe in cloſe engagements, and in broken ranks, no regular troops could withſtand them. They received the bayonet in the target, which they carried on the left arm; then turning it aſide, or twiſting it in the target, they attacked with the broad-ſword the enemy incumbered and defenceleſs; and, where they could not wield the broad-ſword, they ſtabbed with the durk. The only foes they dreaded * were cavalry; to which many cauſes contributed: The novelty of the enemy; their want of the bayonet to receive the ſhock of horſe; the attack made upon them with their own weapon, the broad-ſword; the ſize of dragoon horſes appearing larger to them, from a compariſon with thoſe of their country; but above all, a belief entertained univerſally among the lower claſs of highlanders, that a war-horſe is taught to fight with his feet and his teeth.

Notwithſtanding all theſe advantages, the victories of the highlanders have always been more honourable for themſelves, than of conſequence to others. A river ſtopped their courſe, becauſe they were unaccuſtomed to ſwim: A fort had the ſame effect, becauſe they knew not the ſcience of attack: They wanted cannon, carriages, and magazines, from their poverty and ignorance in the arts: They ſpoke an unknown language; and therefore could derive their reſources only from themſelves. Although their reſpect for their chieftains gave them, as long as they continued in the field, that exact habit of obedience, which only the exceſſive rigour of diſcipline can ſecure over other troops; yet, as ſoon as the victory was gained, they accounted their duty, which was to conquer, fulfilled, and

* M'Kay's manuſcript.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

ran many of them home to recount their feats, and ſtore up their plunder; and, in ſpring and harveſt, more were obliged to retire, or leave their women and children to die of famine. Their chieftains too were apt to ſeparate from the army, upon quarrels and points of honour among themſelves and with others.

Succours ſent to Dundee from Ireland.

After Dundee had been obliged to loſe the firſt, and therefore beſt opportunities of action, the long-expected ſuccour arrived from Ireland in the end of June; and conſiſted of no more than 500 raw and ſpiritleſs recruits, without proviſions and ammunition. He received at the ſame time intelligence, that M'Kay was marching through Athole, to attack the caſtle of Blair, then in the hands of one of James's adherents. Dundee foreſaw, that the loſs of this place would cut off the communication between the two diviſions of the highlands, in which his own ſtrength chiefly lay; and therefore he reſolved to give battle. He

He marches to Killikranky.

marched ſouth towards Athole, with his army conſiderably diminiſhed; becauſe many of his men had retired to their homes to provide their winter's fuel.

July 16.

At the caſtle of Blair he learned, that M'Kay, who, with his foot, and a few horſe, lay encamped at Dunkeld, was to advance next day through the paſs of Killikranky, and that the reſt of his horſe were to follow him in a day or two after. This paſs conſiſts of an open road, in a line nearly ſtreight, about two miles in length, where not more than ſix or eight men could at that time go abreaſt. On the right are mountains that ſeem to riſe to the ſkies: On the left, a precipice hanging over a deep and black river, which ſeems to ſink to the center: On the oppoſite ſide of the river is a prodigious mountain, covered to the top with waving woods, acroſs which eagles and other

Is diſſuaded from fighting;

wild birds are continually flying and ſcreaming. Dundee was preſſed by his officers to diſpute the paſſage with M'Kay, from the ſuperiority of his ſituation, but refuſed

it. In public, he took advantage of an opinion prevailing from the moſt ancient times among the highlanders, that it is diſhonourable to attack an enemy at a diſadvantage; and cried aloud, "He thought not ſo meanly of his followers, as to believe they had degenerated from the generous maxims of their anceſtors." But, in private, he aſſigned reaſons, wiſe and well weighed, for rejecting the advice. He reaſoned, "To defend the paſs, a thing "indeed eaſily effectuated, was only to delay the war, "and to detain themſelves priſoners in places where they "had been already kept too long in confinement. With "moſt eaſe, in open fields, the impetuoſity of the highlanders ſhock was to be exerted. Six ſucceſſive battles "gained by Montroſe, enſured the fortune of next day. "To allow the enemy to paſs over to fair ground, would "inſpire a generous confidence into his own men, but "fill their opponents with a ſuſpicion of the ſecret cauſe "of it. What better terms could be aſked, by an army "for a general action, than unfatigued, and on their own "ground, to receive an enemy, who had fourteen miles "to march the ſame day that he fought, and who was "ignorant of the ground that was to be left him to occupy? The terms of defeat were unequal: For to "him, retreat was eaſy; but to the enemy, retreat and "ruin were the ſame: Entangled in the paſs, the ſtronger "would puſh the weaker over the precipices in their "flight, and all muſt fall a defenceleſs prey to his victorious army purſuing behind: Even at the other end of "the paſs *, he had ſent orders to his friends in Athole, "to watch and fall upon the few who ſhould eſcape. If "a deciſive action was delayed for a few days, the reſt "of M'Kay's horſe would have time to come up; an "enemy the more terrible to highlanders, becauſe they "were conſcious it was the only one they feared."

yet reſolves upon it. His reaſons.

* M'Kay's manuſcript.

The

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

The night before the battle, Dundee having reflected that the highlanders had not been tried in general actions ſince the battle of Philiphaugh, which had been fought 40 years before, and being deſirous to put their courage to the teſt, gave an alarm, and cauſed a falſe attack to be made upon his own camp. In an inſtant, he found every man at his poſt, and firm in it. The event of the ſtratagem removed the diffidence of the general, and confirmed the confidence of the ſoldiers.

He tries his army.

Battle of Killikranky.

M'Kay's army, * after marching from Dunkeld in the morning of the 16th of July, and reſting two hours at the mouth of the paſs, began to enter it about mid-day. The ſoldiers marched through with awe at every ſtep, impreſſed with the grandeur and novelty of the ſcene, even with the ſilence all around them, which ſeemed the forerunner of danger, and with the conſciouſneſs of their own inability to give aſſiſtance to each other, in caſe they were attacked. They advanced into the open field at the end of the paſs with ſlowneſs and caution, deriving fear from that very ſecurity which was offered them; and at laſt obſerved Dundee's army reſting upon the ſide of a mountain oppoſite to them, in one line, but a ſhort one, becauſe his men were fewer in number than M'Kay's, and lay thick upon the ground. But their numbers appeared greater than they were; for, though there were vacancies along the line, occaſioned by ſpots of wood ſpread here and there upon the mountain; yet the imaginations of M'Kay's ſoldiers filled all theſe vacancies with armed enemies. Dundee had choſen this ſtation; becauſe, while the buſhes concealed his own motions and numbers, it gave him an opportunity of obſerving thoſe of his enemies †, ſecured him from the attacks of cavalry, would add violence to his charge if he deſcended upon the enemy, and make retreat, if retreat

* M'Kay's manuſcript. † Ibid.

was

was needful, eaſy to men who could fly over mountains with a ſpeed which no regular troops could equal: And he reſolved not to fight until near ſunſet, with a view, that if he gained the victory, he might give it a dreadful completion during the night; and, if he was defeated, that he might retire without the fear of purſuit. M'Kay, having obſerved the poſition of his enemy *, formed the troops which advanced foremoſt into the open field, into a line of three men deep; and lengthened the line along the field, as more troops arrived ſucceſſively from the mouth of the paſs, partly with a view to outflank Dundee, whoſe line he ſaw was ſhort, and partly to prevent ſurpriſe, by making all the ground known to his army. He continued in this poſition two hours, to conſider what to do, and what to expect; and in the mean time the two armies continued looking on each other. At the end of that time, M'Kay, ſuſpecting Dundee's intention to take advantage of the night, and afraid to encamp in a place ſurrounded with enemies, uſed various means to provoke the highlanders to an engagement, but in vain. But Dundee, obſerving that by the poſition of the two armies his own might be outflanked, and ſo be defeated even whilſt it was defeating, took advantage of his ſituation to make what motions he pleaſed without their being known: He detached his clans into ſeparate bodies; removed them to the right and the left, but in thick order, leaving thus his centre weak; and, half an hour before ſunſet, ruſhed down from his ſtation, and began the attack, by columns, upon the wings of the enemy, with a view that, whether his own centre was broken, or his wings broke thoſe of his opponents, the battle might equally become irregular, and be decided hand to hand, not by the regularity of muſquetry. Montroſe carried the battle of Allderne by the very ſame diſpoſition: All Dundee's

1689.

* M'Kay's manuſcript.

views

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

views ſucceeded: His thick columns pierced eaſily through the thin files of the regiments, preſſed on the ſides thoſe who ſtood, turning round, met in front thoſe who were giving way, and almoſt in an inſtant hurried the enemy off the field. One regiment, and the half of another, which were in the centre, not daring to advance, ſaved themſelves by declining to be victorious in the poſt where they were placed. They alone retreated: The reſt fled. Lord Dundee, who had been the foremoſt on foot in the attack, was the foremoſt on horſeback in the purſuit. Deeming the flight of the enemy to be nothing, unleſs even eſcape was rendered impoſſible, he preſſed on for the mouth of the paſs to cut off their retreat. In a little time, he perceived he had outrun his men; he ſtopped; he waved his arm in the air to make them haſten their ſpeed; and pointed his hand to the paſs, as if he already graſped it. Being conſpicuous in perſon and action, he was obſerved, and a muſket-ball aimed at him found entrance in an opening of his armour beneath his arm-pit, occaſioned by the elevation of his arm. He rode off the field, ordering his miſchance to be concealed, and, fainting, dropped from his horſe. His wound was mortal; yet, when he recovered from his faint, he wrote an account of the action to King James, full of high thoughts, and treating his wound as a trifle. He then deſired to be raiſed; looked to the field*, and aſked "how things went?" Being told, "All was well;" "Then," ſaid he, "I am well," and expired. In this battle, an incident paſſed characteriſtic of a highland engagement. Sir Ewan Cameron of Lochiell, the moſt gallant of the highlanders, next to Dundee, fought attended every-where by his nurſe's ſon, who among highlanders is accounted a kind of relation;

Dundee's death.

* Granger's Hiſt. Biogr. vol. ii. p. 508.

having

having grappled with an Engliſh officer, both fell over a rock; and, in the fall, Sir Ewan loſt his ſword: The officer raiſed his to kill him when on the ground; but Sir Ewan, faſtening upon him with his teeth, tore out his throat. In the mean time, his attendant had been engaged with an other. Sir Ewan, ignorant of this, reproached him for not having aſſiſted him in his danger. While he was doing ſo, the attendant, perceiving a muſket levelled at Sir Ewan, ſtepped before him, and received the ſhot, ſaying as he fell, "You ſhall never reproach me more." The highlanders falling in with the Engliſh baggage, gave over the purſuit, and betook themſelves to plundering. By this accident, moſt of M'Kay's army got ſafely through the paſs; yet not above 200 of them arrived at Stirling in a body with their general. In the battle, 2000 were killed, and 500 taken priſoners. Many of the fugitives were alſo killed or taken priſoners by the Athole men, whom Lord Dundee had the day before ordered to be in readineſs at the ſouth end of the paſs: The reſt diſperſed. M'Kay, not daring to return through the paſs, was ſaved by taking his way through the mountains to the weſt of it. Having ſtopped upon the firſt height that commanded the proſpect of the field and the paſs, he looked back, and, when he ſaw no purſuit *, ſaid to thoſe around him, that he was ſure the enemy had loſt their general. The expreſs which was ſent to Edinburgh from the field of battle with an account of the defeat, was detained by an accident a day upon the road. When this circumſtance was related to King William, he ſaid, "Then Dundee "muſt be dead; for otherwiſe he would have been at "Edinburgh before the expreſs." The highlanders, according to the cuſtom of their country, raiſed a great ſtone upon the ſpot on which Dundee fell, where it remains to this day.

1689.

* General M'Kay's manuſcript.

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

A letter was found in Dundee's pocket from Lord Mellfort, then the late King's ſecretary of ſtate in Ireland *, which imported, that a declaration of indemnity and toleration, then preparing, was couched in ſuch terms, that James could break through it when he pleaſed: Sentiments which alone made death painful to thoſe who were dying for his cauſe.

William paid another compliment to the memory of Dundee: When he was adviſed to ſend a great body of troops to Scotland after the defeat of Killikranky, he ſaid, "It was needleſs; the war ended with Dundee's "life." The obſervation was juſt: For though the highland army deſcended into the low countries of Scotland under the generals Buchan and Cannon, and were engaged in ſeveral actions; yet theſe actions were indeciſive, and, after two languid campaigns, a peace was concluded. The caſtle of Edinburgh had been ſurrendered ſome time before by the Duke of Gordon, whom the ſuperiority of Dundee's genius was no longer at hand to command. But the Duke, in the manner of his ſurrender, preſerved the dignity of his rank and of his anceſtors. He ſaid, "He had ſo much confidence in all "the deſcendants of James I. that though he muſt inſiſt "on a pardon for his garriſon, he would ſtipulate no "terms for himſelf." Upon the peace with the highlanders, the common men retired to their homes; but many of their officers were, in conſequence of a capitulation, landed in France.

Fate of Dundee's officers.

Although the fate which attended thoſe officers in France falls beyond the period of time to which theſe Memoirs are confined, a digreſſion may perhaps be pardoned, that deſcribes adventures which were worthy of the happieſt days of Athens or Sparta. The officers were

* Lord Balcarras.

150 in number, all of honourable birth, attached to their chieftains and to each other, in their political principles only to blame, yet glorying in them. Upon their arrival in France, penſions were aſſigned them by the French King: But, upon the concluſion of the civil war, theſe penſions were withdrawn, becauſe the object no longer exiſted for which they had been given. Finding themſelves, therefore, a load upon the late King, whoſe finances could ſcarcely ſuffice for himſelf, they petitioned that Prince for leave to form themſelves into a company of private centinels, aſking no other favour than that they might be permitted to chooſe their own officers from their own number. James aſſented. They repaired to St. Germains, to be reviewed by him before they were modelled in the French army. A few days after they came, they poſted themſelves in accoutrements borrowed from a French regiment, and drawn up in order, in a place through which he was to paſs as he went to the chaſe;—an amuſement of which he became paſſionately fond after the loſs of his kingdom *. He aſked who they were? and was ſurpriſed to find they were the ſame men with whom, in garbs better ſuited to their ranks, he had the day before converſed at his levee. Struck with the levity of his own amuſement, contraſted with the miſery of thoſe who were ſuffering for him, he returned penſive to the palace. The day he reviewed them, he paſſed along the ranks, wrote in his pocket-book with his own hand every gentleman's name, and gave him his thanks in particular; and then, removing to the front, bowed to the body, with his hat off. After he had gone away, ſtill thinking honour enough was not done them, he re-

* Nothing marks the poverty of King James's genius more than a ſaying which is reported of him upon his being told that there was to be a peace between France and England. "Eh bien, nous aurons des beaux chevaux "d'Angleterre." "Very well then, we ſhall have fine Engliſh horſes."

PART II. BOOK II. 1689.

turned, bowed again, but burſt into tears. The body kneeled, bent their heads and eyes ſtedfaſt on the ground, and then ſtarting up at once, paſſed him with the uſual honours of war, as if it was only a common review they were exhibiting. They were ſent from thence to the frontiers of Spain, a march of 900 miles, on foot. Wherever they paſſed, they were received with tears by the women, with reſpect by ſome of the men, but with laughter at the awkwardneſs of their ſituation by moſt of them. They were always the foremoſt in battle, and the laſt in retreat. Of all the troops in the ſervice, they were the moſt obedient to orders. Twice only they diſobeyed: The firſt time was at the ſiege of Roſes *, where they had fallen into diſeaſes, and been ordered to quit the camp for their recovery; but they delayed to obey, until they had ſent a remonſtrance to Marſhal Noailles, againſt what they termed an affront. The ſecond inſtance of their inattention to orders, was upon the following occaſion: The Germans had made a lodgment in an iſland in the Rhine: The French, from an opinion that the river was impaſſable without boats, had ordered a number for the paſſage: Among other troops intended for the ſervice, this company was ordered to keep a ſtation oppoſite to the iſland, until the boats ſhould arrive; but finding, upon examination, the ford, though difficult, not impaſſable, they, according to the cuſtom of highlanders in wading through rivers, joining their hands together, and entering the river in a line with its current, the ſtrongeſt men in the upper part, and the weaker below, ſo that thoſe who were higheſt up the ſtream broke all its force, and tying their arms and clothes on their ſhoulders, paſſed to the iſland in ſight of both armies on the oppoſite banks, and drove ten times their number from the lodgment. The French cried out in admiration, "A gentleman, in whatever ſtation, is

* Account of Dundee's forces.

"ſtill

"ſtill a gentleman." "Le gentilhomme eſt toujours "gentilhomme." The place is called *l' Iſle d' Ecoſſe* to this day.

All collective human virtues are ſullied with the ſelfiſhneſs of individuals. The officers, to whom they had yielded their independence, and whom they had choſen to command their equals, cheated them of their pay, poor as it was, of their clothes, and of preſents which the generous had ſent them. The French, inattentive to their patience, fatigues, and ſervices, ſent them from the frontiers of Spain to Alſace, a march as long as the former. In this route, their clothes fell to tatters: After they paſſed Lyons, the country was covered with ſnow: They often wanted the neceſſaries of life; yet no complaints were heard amongſt them, except for the ſufferings of him whom they accounted their ſovereign. After ſix years ſervice, they were broke, when the peace was concluded, on the higher part of the Rhine, 1500 miles from their homes, and without any proviſion made for them. At that time, only ſixteen of them had ſurvived the fate of their companions; and of theſe only four arrived in Scotland, to give warning by their example to their countrymen, though to too many of them in vain, to diſtruſt for ever the promiſes and flatteries of France *.

* There are men now living in Scotland who were acquainted with ſome of the four.

APPENDIX

TO

PART II. BOOK II.

Lord Strathnaver to Lord Dundee.—Adviſes Dundee to make his peace.—Strathnaver was brother-in-law to Dundee.

THE concern that many equally intereſted in us both, has for your lordſhip, abſtracting from that reſpect which your own merit made me have, cannot but occaſion regrate in me, to ſee that the courſes you take, tend inevitably to the ruin of you and yours, if perſiſted in. I cannot therefore but wiſh, that you would follow the Duke of Gordon's example, and I am perſuaded it will be found the beſt courſe; neither ſhall your friends who at this time dare not well meddle, be wanting to ſhow their affection to you, and intereſt in the ſtanding of your family, and I hope you will do me the juſtice to believe that none wiſhes it better, or will more effectually lay himſelf out in it, than, &c.

Inverneſs, 3d of July, 1689.

Lord Dundee to Lord Strathnaver.—His ſpirited anſwer.

My Lord, Struan, 15th July, 1689.

YOUR lordſhip's, dated the 3d, I received the 13th, and would have returned an anſwer before now, had I not been called ſuddenly to Enverlochie, to give orders anent the forces, arms, and amunition ſent from Irland.

My lord, I am extreamly ſenſible of the obligation I have to you, for offering your endeavours for me, and giving me advice in the deſperate eſtate you thought our affairs were in. I am perſuaded it flows from your ſincere goodneſs and concern for me and mine, and in return, I aſſure your lordſhip, I have had no leſs concern for you, and was thinking of making the like addreſs to you; but delayed it till things ſhould appear more clear to you. I am ſorry your lordſhip ſhould be ſo far abuſed as to think, that there is any ſhadow of appearance of ſtability in this new ſtructure of government theſe men have framed to themſelves: they made you, I doubt not, believe, that Darie (Londonderry) was relieved three weeks ago. By printed accounts, and I can aſſure you, it never was relieved, and now is taken. They told you, the Ingliſh fleet and Dutch were maſters of the ſea. I know for certain the French is, and in the Chanel; in teſtimony whereof they have defeated our Scots fleet. For as they came alongſt they fell on the two friggats, killed the captains, and ſeiſed the ſhips, and brought the men priſoners to Mull. They tell you Shomberg is going to Irland to carry the war thither. I aſſure you the king has landed a conſiderable body of forces there, and will land himſelf amongſt our friends in the weſt (whom I am ſorry for) very ſoon. So, my lord, having given you a clear and true proſpect of affairs, which I am afraid amongſt your folks you are not uſed with, I leave you to judge if I or you, your family or myn, be moſt in danger. However, I acknowledge francly, I am no leſs obliged to your lordſhip, ſeeing you made me an offer of your aſſiſtance in a tyme when you thought I needed it. Wherein I can ſerve your lordſhip or family at any tyme you think convenient, you may freely employ me. For, as far as my duty will allow me in the circumſtances we ſtand, I will ſtudy your wellfare as becomes, &c.

The following ſpeech of King James, at St. Germains, to the Scotch officers when reduced to a company of centinels, is a ſtrong inſtance, how a mind naturally ſevere and weak, may be humanized, and even elevated by misfortunes.

King James's ſpeech to the Scotch officers, when reduced into a company of centinels at St. Germains.

MY own misfortunes are not ſo nigh my heart as yours. It grieves me beyond what I can expreſs, to ſee ſo many brave and worthy gentlemen, who had once the proſpect of being the chief officers in my army, reduced to the ſtations of private centinels. Nothing but your loyalty, and of a few of my ſubjects in Britain, who are forced from their allegiance by the Prince of Orange, and who I know will be ready on all occaſions to ſerve me, and my diſtreſſed family, could make me willing to live. The ſenſe of what all of you have done, and undergone for your loyalty, hath made ſo deep an impreſſion in my heart, that if ever it pleaſe God to reſtore me, it is impoſſible I can be forgetfull of your ſervices and ſufferings. Neither can there be any poſts in the armies of my dominions, but what you have juſt pretenſions to. As for my ſon, and your prince, he is your own blood, a child capable of any impreſſions; and as his education will be from you, it is not ſuppoſable he can forget your merits.

At your own deſires, you are now going a long march, far diſtant from me. I have taken care to provide you with money, ſhoes, ſtockings, and other neceſſarys. Fear God and love one another. Write your wants particularly to me, and depend upon it always to find me your parent and king.

BOOK III.

DISCONTENTS in the House of Commons.——Clamours of the Merchants.——Continuation of Discontents.——Divisions between the Houses.——The Whigs renew their Attacks on the Tories.——Breach in the Royal Family.——Two Laws of Political Oeconomy.——Discontents in Scotland, and Causes of them.——The King's Grand Scheme, for gaining the Scotch, disappointed.——An Opposition in the Scottish Parliament.——Arts to irritate the Members.——They present a Remonstrance.——Fruitless Attempts to pacify them.

1689.

WHILE the late king, in attempting to recover his dominions, found himself reduced, even by his successes, to a state of dependence upon his Irish subjects, and was stung with the reflection, that he had only brought calamities upon those who were venturing their all for him in Scotland, William was under equal difficulties in the management of the two kingdoms he possessed. The disorders in Ireland, the bad success of the fleet at Bantry-Bay, the defeat at Killikrankry, raised great discontents in the English parliament; and they imputed to the king and his ministers, what was owing to the excess of their own parsimony, and to the inevitable distractions of a prince who had been only a few months upon the throne, and who could take no measures of vigour, without trem-

Great discontents in the house of commons.

PART II. BOOK III.

1689.

bling leſt he ſhould offend thoſe laws which he had ſo lately avenged. In the beginning of June *, the commons appointed a committee to enquire to whom the delays in ſuccouring Ireland were to be imputed. As all national diſcontents in England fall firſt upon the king's miniſters, a motion was, the ſame day, made by Mr. Howe, a whig member, and debated, "for an addreſs "to the king to remove from his preſence and councils "thoſe who had been impeached in parliament:" A motion directed chiefly againſt Lord Danby, lately created Marquis of Caermarthen. Next day they reſolved † to apply to the king for copies of the commiſſions and inſtructions relating to Ireland. Having been furniſhed with theſe, they, a few days after ‡, addreſſed for leave to inſpect the books of the privy-council, and of the Iriſh committee, for papers relating to Iriſh affairs. The king § gave no anſwer. They addreſſed again. He kept the ſame ſilence. Upon this they voted, "That thoſe perſons "who have been the occaſion of delaying to ſend relief "to Ireland, and thoſe perſons who adviſed the king to "delay giving inſpection of the minute-books of the "committee for Iriſh affairs, are enemies to the king and "kingdom." Immediately after a motion was made for an addreſs "to remove the Marquiſſes of Hallifax and "Caermarthen from his majeſty's councils," becauſe to them the care of Iriſh affairs had been chiefly committed; but upon debate it was adjourned. Whilſt the diſpute was between the king and the commons, theſe miniſters interfered not; but, when they ſaw it pointed at themſelves, they adviſed their maſter to give inſpection of the books. The houſe of lords followed the example of the commons, and called ‖ not only for thoſe books,

* Journals of the houſe of commons, June 2. † Ibid. June 3.
‡ Ibid. 7th and 23d June. § Ibid. 28th June, 3d and 13th July.
‖ Lords Journ. 26th and 29th July, 2d Auguſt.

but

1689.

but for the books of the admiralty, to find out the causes of other national disappointments.

The discontent of the commons appeared at the same time, in their jealousies of the Dutch. One member having declaimed upon the danger of falling into the hands of the French and the Irish; another called out with a sullen voice and air: "Add the Dutch." The commons had formerly desired * to know from the king, what were the mutual obligations of assistance between Holland and the crown: But now, irritated because the Dutch had not been at the battle of Bantry Bay, they desired to know what number of ships and seamen † the Dutch were obliged to fit out for the summer's expedition: And when they voted their second address for inspection of the books relating to Ireland ‡, they instructed their committee to enquire why the Dutch had not sent out their fleet sooner to join that of the English; although by comparing the dates of the treaty between the nations, which lay before the house, and of the junction §, it was obvious, the Dutch fleet had been sent out as soon as could have been expected.

Their jealousies of the Dutch.

June 26.

July 3.

The English jealousies of the Dutch were increased, by the clamours of the trading part of the nation. The English and Dutch fleets joined together, and, consisting of between 60 and 70 strong ships of war, had hovered most of the summer on the coasts of France, and in autumn had spread themselves along the coasts of Ireland; by which stations, they had prevented the French from sending succours of any consequence into Ireland. The French, in the mean time, invented a new species of war: For, laying up their ships of war safe in their harbours,

Clamours of the merchants.

* Journals of the house of commons, 25th March. † Ibid. June 26.

‡ Ibid. 3d July. § The treaty was dated 29th April. Vide journals of the house of commons, 1st July. The junction was made upon the 6th day of June, a few days after the battle.

they

PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

they tranſported their ſeamen on foot, on horſes, and in carriages, by land to different ports, and put them on board a vaſt number of ſmall veſſels which they ſeized in the ports, and converted into privateers, in order to deſtroy the trade of their enemies. The merchants, whoſe complaints in England are always the loudeſt and the moſt liſtened to, exclaimed, "That a Dutch king, and Dutch "counſellors, had laid a ſcheme to ruin the trade of Eng-"land, with a view to engroſs that of the world to their "countrymen. In vain were the Engliſh navies maſters "of the ſea, if the Engliſh trading veſſels could find no "ſafety in it. The pomp and parade of fleets, ſent to "hover in ſight of the enemy's harbours, and to ſerve "only as magnificent ſpectacles, for the entertainment "of that people whom they ought to ſtrike with terror, "were inſults upon the miſeries of a nation which was "at the expence of maintaining them." All trading nations are jealous; but men muſt be doubly ſo, who are ſeparated by their ſituation from the reſt of the world, and who, prizing liberty with all the paſſion of lovers, cannot bear that other nations ſhould either ſnatch it from them, or enjoy it with them. It was in vain for the king, or his miniſters, to remonſtrate, "That a new and unexpected "ſpecies of war, put in execution on a ſudden, no hu-"man prudence could foreſee, or ward off in an inſtant. "That, for theſe piratical gains, France had ſacrificed "her own trade, the reputation of her maritime arms, "and the ſtill more important object of giving perma-"nency to the civil wars of her enemy." The merchants heard, could not anſwer, yet continued to complain.

Continuation of the diſcontents of the commons. July 16.

The commons, in the mean time, drew up votes and bills which diſcovered both the greatneſs and littleneſs of

* Journals of the Houſe of Commons, July 16. † Ibid. June 4.
‡ Ibid. July 15. § Ibid. July 19.

party.

party. They paſſed * a militia-bill, calculated to take even the power of the ſword from the hands of the king; but it was ordered by the lords to lie upon their table, becauſe it took the ſame power likewiſe from theirs. In order to ſtrip the crown of one of its brighteſt jewels, the power of ſhewing mercy, and to reach Lord Caermarthen, they voted †, that the king's pardon was not pleadable in bar of an impeachment. They threw an affront upon the national character of hoſpitality, by an addreſs to remove from the kingdom the Ducheſs of Mazarine, whoſe chief offence was, that ſhe was a French woman. Although not fond of women, and ſtill leſs of gay women, William ‡ anſwered coldly, "He would conſider "of it." Madame Mazarine, who intended to have left the kingdom, now reſolved to continue in it; "In order," as ſhe ſaid, "to ſhow that women could have their hu- "mours as well as the houſe of commons." They ſtruck at the decorum due to royalty, to a woman, and to misfortune, when, in a bill againſt papiſts, they endeavoured to limit the number of the queen dowager's popiſh ſervants to eighteen §: An inſult from which an aſſembly of nobles protected her; but which induced the unfortunate princeſs, ſome time after, to quit for ever a kingdom, in which all knees had once bowed to her.

1689.

June 4.

July 15.

The king found the buſineſs of parliament obſtructed, not only by the diſcontents of many of his ſubjects againſt himſelf, but by diviſions between the two houſes of parliament. The ſtate of mutual oppoſition in which theſe aſſemblies had ſtood for half a century, the antipathy of individuals againſt each other in the two late reigns, ſome preſent jealouſies ‖ in the peers of the intereſts of

* Journals of the houſe of commons, July 16. † Ibid. June 4.
‡ Ibid. July 15. § Ibid. July 19. ‖ The clauſe which the peers inſiſted upon in the additional poll-bill, and the bill regulating the trial of peers, were inſtances of this.

their

PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

their own order, together with a belief they entertained, that the preſent houſe of commons had hoſtile intentions againſt monarchy itſelf, mingled private paſſions with political diviſions. There was ſcarce a bill ſent from the one houſe to the other during this ſeſſion, which was not made the ſubject of a conference; and theſe conferences were managed with a degree of obſtinacy and keenneſs unuſual in parliament. When the peers * reminded the commons, that a bill lay before them for the trial of peers, which was favourable for the peerage, the commons reminded the peers, that a bill for a militia lay before them, which was favourable for the commons.

They differ about the Hanoverian ſucceſſion.

The differences between the houſes affected even the higheſt act of ſtate. The Commons had converted the claim of rights and inſtrument of government into a bill, and ſent it to the Lords. William, who regulated all his meaſures by their effect upon France, and who wiſhed at that time to draw the power of Hanover into the grand alliance, deſired Biſhop Burnet, who was vain of being thought to ſpeak his ſentiments, to move that the Princeſs Sophia of Hanover, and her poſterity, ſhould be inſerted in the order of ſucceſſion, after thoſe who had been named in the inſtrument of government †. The Lords agreed to the amendment; but the Commons refuſed to receive it. Conferences between the houſes enſued, in which Lord Rocheſter, the once great champion for hereditary right, managed the debate of the Lords. In the oppoſition of aſſemblies, parties as well as individuals ſeemed to have changed their own principles. The tories, who had contended, during the interregnum, to ſave the poſterity of the late king, now laboured to exclude it; and the whigs ‡, who were natural enemies to the family of Stuart, preſerved their pretenſions from

* Journals of the houſe of commons, March 19. Auguſt 9.

† Vide Appendix to this Book.

‡ Journals of the houſe of commons, June 19.

being removed to a ſtill greater diſtance. Amidſt theſe contentions, the original bill of rights itſelf, the great inſtrument of Engliſh liberty, was loſt for this ſeſſion. The lords, ſome time before, had ſent the commons a bill * to make it high treaſon to correſpond with the late king. From a continuation of the ſame paſſions, it was rejected by the one houſe, becauſe it had been adopted by the other.

1689.

April 30.

They differ about Titus Oates.

Nor did the houſes differ only about the great objects of ſtate: They entered into animoſities concerning the moſt worthleſs and the moſt impudent of human kind. Titus Oates, the famous evidence in the popiſh plot, who had in the laſt reign been twice cruelly whipped in three days, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment, and to be pilloried four times a year as long as he lived, took advantage of the ſtream of party, and brought the judgment that had been given againſt him, by appeal, to the houſe of lords. The lords diſmiſſed the appeal †. He had alſo laid his caſe before the houſe of commons ‡ by petition, which received it more favourably. When the commons were informed of the judgment upon his appeal, they inſpected the journals of the lords; voted ||, "That "the proſecution againſt Oates in the late reign, was "a deſign to ſtifle the popiſh plot, that the verdicts "againſt him were corrupt, and the judgments cruel and "illegal;" ſent a bill to the lords, which reverſed both the verdicts and the judgments; and ordered a committee § to form an abſtract of the proceedings of the houſe upon the popiſh plot. The lords ** refuſed to reverſe the verdicts, becauſe the evidence upon which they proceeded was as yet unimpeached, and becauſe they thought their doing otherwiſe would imply their acquieſcence in the

May 31.

May 23.

June 11.

* Journals of the houſe of lords 29 April, and of commons 30 April.
† Journals of the houſe of commons 11 June. ‡ Ibid. 23 May.
|| Ibid. 13 July. § Ibid. 12 June. ** Ibid. 13 July.

PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

truth of Oates's evidence, and consequently in the reality of the popish plot: But they agreed to reverse the judgments, because they thought the punishment an outrage upon human nature; and, in the mean time, in order to avoid all occasion of difference, they addressed * the king for a pardon to Oates, which was granted next day. But the commons, not contented with these concessions, demanded a † conference upon the subject of the bill. A great part of the session was lost in disputes about this vile person. In the end, the commons disgraced their record with a vote for an address for a maintenance to him: The king complied; some excusing him from the necessity he was under not to disoblige the commons, and others converting his compliance into a proof of his own connections with Oates and Shaftesbury at a former period ‡.

June 6.

The whigs renew their attacks upon the tories.

Amidst this jealousy in the commons of the king, and in the lords of the commons, it was in vain for the king, in different speeches, to remind the commons of the bill of indemnity, to press them for more money, and when he saw no more was to be got, to pretend he was satisfied they should proceed no further in raising money this session. The whig party in the house of commons still persisted in their original plan of hanging out terrors against the tories, in order to frighten them from opposing their power. Instead of drawing up a bill of indemnity, they began with forming rules of exceptions from it ‖. These rules, reduced under ten heads, were so broad, as to comprehend not only all the malversations of the late reigns, enumerated in the vote of the 25th of March,

July 12. June 28. July 12.

May 23.

* Journ. house of com. 6 August. † Ibid. 12 June, 22 July.

‡ I have been at a great deal of pains to discover in the paper-office whether there was any connection between the Prince of Orange and Shaftesbury; but never could find any traces of it. There is a magazine of papers relating to Shaftesbury in that office. ‖ Journ. house of com. 23 May

which had classed them under seven, but also all those which had escaped attention when that vote was drawn up: So that it seemed calculated rather to point out trespasses to be punished which had been forgot, than to bury the old ones in oblivion. Having fixed upon the crimes to be excepted *, they next proceeded to select the criminals who were to fall under the exceptions. Here public accusations, private whispers, severe inquisitions, were numberless: Men were stabbed by their best friends, who thought themselves justified in returning the dishonourable injury. In the course of this examination, the commons † enquired who were concerned June 18. in regulating the corporations, in taking off the penal laws or tests, and in the commitment of the bishops; and they ordered the ecclesiastical commissions, five of which had been issued, to be laid before the house: Inquiries, the first of which affected many even of the ministers of Charles II.; the next, most of the late king's; the third, all of the late privy council who had been present at the commitment of the bishops, except Petre, the person ‡ who deserved most to be punished; and the last, many of the most considerable ‖ of the tory party, and even some § who had endeavoured to disappoint the commission under which they acted. They called for the commissioners of July 15. customs and excise to account for their having levied these branches of the revenue in the late reign, without authority of parliament. They inspected their books; they July 17. called for persons, papers, and records; and addressed July 20.

* Journ. house of com. 28 June, 12 July. † Ibid. June 18, 14, 3.

‡ All the privy council present had signed the warrant of commitment, except Father Petre. ‖ The Lords Rochester, Sunderland, Mulgrave, Huntington, Jeffreys; the Bishops of Rochester, Durham, Chester; Lord Chief Justices Herbert and Wright; Baron Jenner, &c.

§ Lord Rochester, the Bishop of Rochester, and Lord Mulgrave. Vide the apologies of the two last.

PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

the king for leave to inſpect the books of the treaſury and privy-council relative to that matter: A vote which ſtruck at Charles II.'s laſt board of treaſury, and all the revenue officers of the late reign. They ordered ſome of the late king's judges, and others of them whom he had diſplaced, to attend the houſe; the former to account for their conduct, the latter to have an opportunity of boaſting of their diſgrace. They brought the late king's attorney-general before them, for a proſecution he had raiſed by the king's own order. They reſolved to reverſe ſundry judgments of the judges, and to give reparation to the perſons who had ſuffered by them out of the eſtates of the proſecutors, and even of the judges. They ordered an account of the ſecret money expended ſince the year 1682 to be laid before the houſe. Other reſolutions and reports affected inferior perſons *: For there was no diſtinction made between the great and the ſmall. In this way, the commons got through the firſt four of the ten heads of their exceptions, and then ſtopped only in order to ſtrike the greater awe, by leaving it uncertain on whoſe heads the ſtorm ſhould afterwards fall. In the mean time †, Lord Sunderland, the Biſhop of Rocheſter, and Lord Mulgrave, had teſtified their fears by publiſhing apologies for their conduct; and ſuch condeſcenſions, made by ſuch men, raiſed fears in the reſt of their party.

Honourable conduct of the whigs.

But, amidſt the heat of party itſelf, the honour of Engliſh party appeared. Special committees in both houſes had been appointed to inquire into the death of the Earl of Eſſex, with a view, by ſome, to fix a ſtain of the deepeſt dye upon the memory of Charles II. and his

* All theſe things are to be found in the Journals of the following dates: Journ. houſe of com. July 15, 17, 20. June 14, 18. July 10, 19, 12, 13. May 29. July 16. June 2, 18. July 1.

† Sunderland's apology. Biſhop of Rocheſter's letters to the Earl of Dorſet. Duke of Buckingham's works.

brother.

brother. Informers and witneſſes * were not wanting to ſtrike the mortal blow, nor believers to give it effect. But the whigs did a more effectual ſervice to their party, by ſcorning to ſerve it at the expence of truth and honour. Their juſtice too appeared; for, though they were arraigning the actions of the ſervants of Charles, they made proviſion for paying their arrears. But Lord Delamere †, lately created Earl of Warrington, was the only man of the party, who, revering the dead, and connections which were avowed now no longer, preſſed for a reverſal of the attainder of the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth: A generoſity which was the more honoured, becauſe nobody followed his example! But the king fearing leſt the pretenſions of the Duke of Monmouth's family might in future times be turned into a weapon of party, reſolved, by giving his title to another, to bar their hopes of recovering it. In Lord Mordaunt a perſon was found to ſubmit to the invidious honour of being created Earl of Monmouth.

Quarrel in the royal family.

The diviſions of the nation, and between the houſes of parliament, William bore, though with impatience; but, when he found them attempted to be thrown into the royal family, he was filled with alarms. Although the Princeſs Anne had conſented to be poſtponed to him in the ſucceſſion, ſhe had not forgot the importance of the conceſſion ſhe had made; nor William, perhaps, that he had been obliged to aſk it. The high-church party, which had been at firſt diſobliged by the ſeeming facility of the Princeſs's temper, in making that conceſſion, returned ſoon after to her intereſts, partly from a family reſpect, which they found it impoſſible to ſhake off, and partly ‡, becauſe her love for the church, and the neglect which her intereſt in the ſucceſſion had met with

* Journal houſe of lords 1689, paſſim.

† Lord Delamere's works, p. 73. ‡ Ducheſs of Marlborough.

from

PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

from the whigs, had rivetted her affections to the tories. The adventurers in party wiſhed, as is uſual, for differences in the royal family, in hopes to aſſume merit from drawing down ſufferings in the cauſe of the Princeſs upon themſelves, and were all ready to flock to her ſtandard. Upon theſe foundations Lady Marlborough, a woman artful, intereſted, imperious, poſſeſſed equally of the talents of inſinuating and commanding, who thought that her huſband's ſervices had not been ſufficiently requited, and found her own not attended to at all, formed the project of making that advantage of diviſion in the royal family, which ſhe could not derive from its union. Many things promiſed her ſucceſs: The competition natural between the poſſeſſor of a crown, and the preſumptive heir to it, increaſed, becauſe not prevented by the circumſtance of their being ſiſters; the competitors, high-ſpirited, women, and ſurrounded with women; the eſtabliſhment of the court of a princeſs, for which it was difficult to find rules, and in which every new ſtep afforded room for a new diſpute. Looks, words between ſiſters and friends, are equal to explanations between others: The queen, jealous becauſe her ſiſter was ſo, had put ſome ſlights upon her, perhaps more to try her love than from real anger: Theſe were conſtrued, by Lady Marlborough, into mortal injuries. Kings and heroes, like the common race of men, are ſwayed by the partners of their beds: William entered into the quarrels of women, as if he had been one. To enumerate theſe, and the frivolous grounds of them, would be beneath the dignity of hiſtory, and even of memoirs: But many of them are to be found in the account of the Ducheſs of Marlborough's conduct, written by herſelf.

One ſource of difference, however, was of real conſequence. An independent proviſion for the Princeſs Anne had been moved for in the houſe of commons, as early as the

the 26th of March *, more from a common mark of attention, than from any design of party. The house had postponed the debate, from the tenderness of the subject. But, after this, William gave himself no pains to procure that provision for the Princess, with which she had been flattered, when she consented to yield her pretensions to his in the succession; and she was too proud to ask favours from one upon whom she had conferred them. Lady Marlborough, therefore, got the motion for the revenue revived in the house of commons † upon the 17th of July; and it was referred to a committee of the whole house, which was to take into consideration the revenue bill. The committee resolved, that a revenue of 40,000 pounds a year should be settled upon her for life: A resolution, the more mortifying to the king, because his own had not as yet been settled; and because all men knew it was to be granted to him from time to time, and not for his life. Neither the king, nor the queen, nor any of their ministers, had been consulted in this motion. The queen got the first certain intelligence of it from the Princess herself, who, having been questioned by her sister, concerning the intention of the commons, answered, with indifference: "She heard her friends in the house of commons intended to do something for her." "Friends!" replied the queen, with heat, "What friends have you, "but the king and me?" Words which remained deep in the minds of both! The king, in the mean time, exerted all his influence to disappoint the committee's resolution of the 17th of July; and, after a warm debate in the house, upon the 9th of August, the question was adjourned ‡. In order to prevent any further contentions upon this subject, William, a few days after, adjourned the parliament.

* Journals of the house of commons, 26 March. † Ibid. 17 July.
‡ Ibid. 9 Aug.

Even

PART II. BOOK III.

1689.

Even in retiring, the commons left marks of that high ſpirit by which they were actuated: For, when their ſpeaker, Mr. Powle, on the laſt day of the ſeſſion, preſented the bill for the payment of the Dutch forces, he, with a mixture of ſhrewdneſs and compliment, reminded the king, "That the Dutch had formerly received from "the Engliſh that redemption from ſlavery which they "had lately repaid."

Auguſt 20. The king adjourns the parliament, to prevent a ſettlement upon the Princeſs.

No nation blends commercial with political intereſts ſo much as the Engliſh. The parliament paſſed a law, prohibiting all trade with France, and addreſſed the king to make the conſent of other nations to a ſimilar prohibition, the condition of his entering into alliances with them; to which he agreed. They paſſed another law for a bounty upon the exportation of corn. This bounty was demanded by the tories, who were poſſeſſed of the great landed intereſt, in return for their conſenting to a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound *; the higheſt land-tax that had ever been known in England. By the firſt of theſe contrivances, France conſumed and ſickened. The laſt cauſed England to grow in ſtature and health. Foreigners were aſtoniſhed to ſee a wiſe nation give rewards for exporting the ſuſtenance of man: But they perceived not, that from thence would ariſe the induſtry of the people, and the verdure of the fields in England beyond thoſe of all neighbouring nations.

Two laws of political œconomy.

While the parliament of England was diſputing, with decorum, the will of their ſovereign, that of Scotland, which ſat at the ſame time, like ſlaves broke looſe, indulged in licentiouſneſs, under the ſpecious name of liberty. This conduct was owing to three general cauſes.

Diſcontents in Scotland.

Religious differences had, ever ſince the reformation, been the great ſources of political diviſions in Scotland.

1. A cauſe of them; the ſtate of religion.

* It was intended to have been laid on this ſeſſion; and was laid on by two acts in the next ſeſſion.

And

And the nation was now almoſt equally divided into the friends of prelacy and of preſbytery. For, although moſt of the lower and middling ranks of the nation, and almoſt all of the commons, who, in the firſt heat of the revolution, had been returned to parliament, were, from principle and paſſion, attached to preſbytery; yet moſt of the nobility and higher gentry, and all the old tory-party, were of the oppoſite communion. It was therefore impoſſible for the king to gain the one party, without loſing the other. He ſaw the difficulty, and heſitated much. He made attempts in perſon to reconcile them to each other: But, while ſome looked upon theſe attempts as injuries, * others converted the ſmooth words in which they were expreſſed, into promiſes of which they were intitled to claim the performance. The Duke of Hamilton urged him to preſerve prelacy. Old Lord Stair, and ſtill more Carſtairs, the ſame clergyman who had been put to the torture upon the diſcovery of the Rye-houſe plot, and in whoſe ſagacity William put great confidence in church-matters, adviſed him to ſettle preſbytery. At length in deſpair, the king gave orders to his † miniſters, to conſent in parliament to whatever mode of church-government the people of Scotland ſhould like beſt: A compliment paid to the nation, which, by marking his indifference what mode ſhould prevail, was diſobliging to the keen friends both of preſbytery and prelacy.

2d cauſe.—The diſappointments of ambition.

Another cauſe of diſcontent, equally important, aroſe from the ſelfiſhneſs of individuals. Almoſt all had readily concurred in placing the crown upon the king's head; becauſe almoſt all had flattered themſelves with the hopes of deriving advantages from their concurrence: But the diſtribution of honours and preferments having now been made, many found their expectations diſappointed ‡. The

* Letter from Biſhop Roſs to Biſhop Campbell, in Guthry.

† Duke of Hamilton's inſtructions. ‡ Gen. M'Kay's MS.

PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

anger of these men was increased by their recollection of William's former silence when they first waited upon him at London, which they imputed, not to the nature of his situation, but to a depth of design, and to an intention to deceive. William had foreseen these consequences; and as the offices were few, and the applications for them numerous, he had split them into commissions, in order to comprehend the greater number of competitors. But, in a country where most of the expectants were needy, ambitious, of good families, of good parts, and at a time when all those who had concurred in the revolution overrated their pretensions to favour, every obligation that was conferred upon one person disobliged a number of others. It was quickly observed in Scotland equally as in England *, that William put his chief confidence in those who had attended him from Holland. Lord Stair was restored to his rank of president of the session; and his son, Sir John Dalrymple, appointed lord advocate, and ordered to attend the king's person. Lord Melville, who had been obliged to fly to Holland † upon the discovery of the Rye-house plot, in which he had been engaged with his brother-in-law the Duke of Monmouth a man ‡ timid, unexperienced in business, and docile from his consciousness of both, was named secretary of state, not so much to act, as to be directed by Lord Stair and his son. The recommending to places, the advising of measures, went through the channel of these three persons, who associated into their councils Lord Tarbet ‖, afterwards Earl of Cromarty, and Lord Breadalbane; the first on account of his relation to Lord Melville, and the last on account of his friendship with Sir John Dal-

* Lord Balcarras. General M'Kay's manuscript.

† Record of Scottish privy-council, 7 August 1683, 8 April 1684.

‡ General M'Kay's manuscript. ‖ Ibid.

rymple,

rymple, and the long reach of thought he poſſeſſed. Tarbet and Breadalbane were permitted to keep up their connections with the late government, under a promiſe on their part of turning them to the advantage of the preſent one. To the Duke of Hamilton, the king gave the empty title of repreſenting his perſon in parliament as commiſſioner, without making any proviſions for his numerous ſons, or enabling him to make any for his more numerous dependants;—an honour which he looked upon as an inſult*: And his complaints were the more graceful, becauſe they were open, and ſuited to the greatneſs of his rank; and becauſe they were accompanied with declarations of averſion to that Stuart family which he was unjuſtly ſuſpected to favour. But the perſon who formed the moſt deſperate ſchemes, was Sir James Montgomery, becauſe he connected himſelf in private with the partizans of the late king;—a man equally expert in writing, ſpeaking, and intrigue, who, though a mere adventurer in party, had aimed at the office of ſecretary of ſtate, and, having nothing to hope, and nothing to loſe, now converted his ambition into revenge. 1689.

3d cauſe.—Anxieties of the old popular party.

There was ſtill a third cauſe. As the revolution in England had been brought about by a coalition of whigs and tories, its intereſts were in that country, except in a few inſtances, kept diſtinct from the former oppoſitions to royal power. But as the revolution had been accompliſhed in Scotland almoſt entirely by the whigs, its intereſts were, in this laſt country, blended with thoſe of all the inſurrections in the two late reigns: For, many hundreds who had been engaged in theſe inſurrections had come over with the Prince of Orange; others had contributed to his ſucceſs in Scotland; many of them now ſat in parliament; and it was known that there was a bill preparing to reſtore all the reſt, without diſtinction of

* General M'Kay's manuſcript correſpondence with King William and Lord Portland.

PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

their offences, who had been forfeited ſince the firſt inſurrection in Scotland after the reſtoration *. Theſe exiles, accuſtomed in foreign countries to complain and to be pitied, imputed to every king what they had ſuffered from one or two, and thought that ſubjects were only ſafe when the crown was reduced to a ſtate of inability to do them miſchief. Mr. Fletcher of Salton, though not returned to parliament, communicated his own ſpirit to the conduct of this party: A man the more ſanguine againſt ſlavery, becauſe he had been forced to live under it in other countries, and had oppoſed it in vain in his own. He brought over to it too, the more virtuous part of the youth: For he courted the young, endeavouring to model their national love of ancient learning into an ambition of imitating the glorious actions it deſcribes, and was in uſe to ſay, that the full reſtoration of liberty was not to be expected from the old, who, having once ſubmitted to tyranny, had loſt the ſenſe of freedom. The youth, in return, revered in him ſimplicity of character and of honour, elevation of mind, and the ſpirit of their anceſtors, and thought, that to feel his virtues, and to poſſeſs them, were the ſame †. This party was known ſometimes by the name of the Revolution country party,

* That is, from the year 1665. Vide an account of the ſcheme in Wodrow's appendix.

† One of his *elowes* was Lord Baſil Hamilton. At an after-period Lord Baſil was deputed by the parliament of Scotland to complain to King William of the affair of Darien. He attended long in London without being properly regarded. At laſt a day was fixed for his being heard in council. When he came, other buſineſs was pretended; the council roſe; and the king was going away: Lord Baſil placed himſelf in the paſſage, ſtopped the king, and ſaid, "I come, deputed by one of your kingdoms, to lay their "complaints at your royal feet. I have a right to be heard; and I will be "heard." The king bid him go on, gave him a civil anſwer, and then turning to one of his courtiers, ſaid, "This young man is too bold, if any "one can be too bold in his country's cauſe." This anecdote I had from Lord Baſil's grandſon, the preſent Earl of Selkirk.

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from its principles; and ſometimes by that of the Club, becauſe its members met in private, and acted in concert. Lord Anandale, Lord Roſs, and Sir James Montgomery, were accounted the heads of it in parliament.

The king's grand ſcheme for gaining the Scots diſappointed.

The claim of rights, which had been preſented to the king with the offer of the crown, conſiſted of a variety of pretenſions in favour of the ſubject, ſome of which were well founded, and others not. Yet inſtructions were given by the king to the Duke of Hamilton, to get ſeparate laws paſſed in parliament in confirmation of every one of them, ſo as not only to remove the appearances of tyranny, but even to comply with all the prejudices of the convention which had formed thoſe pretenſions. A more popular and generous meaſure could not have been deviſed: But the Duke of Hamilton diſappointed the effect of it. He concealed from the order of boroughs, that he was empowered to paſs a law for reinſtating them in all the rights which had been taken from them in the late reigns: Hence they were led to oppoſe that intereſt which they believed had neglected theirs. He refuſed the aſſent to a bill which aboliſhed the king's ſupremacy in the church; and though he gave the royal aſſent to an act which aboliſhed prelacy, he took no care to procure another, which ſhould eſtabliſh preſbytery in its place. The refuſal and the neglect touched equally one of the tendereſt ſtrings in preſbyterian breaſts. He would allow no alteration to be made in the conſtitution of the lords of articles, a court-committee which had a negative in parliament before debate, although he received repeated inſtructions to make conceſſions upon that ſubject: A mark of attention to an unjuſt branch of prerogative, which rouſed all the jealouſies of freedom *. He contrived, that

* The lords of the articles in Scotland conſiſted originally of eight biſhops, eight temporal peers, eight knights of the ſhires, and eight burgeſſes, every eight

PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

that the bill for reverſing the forfeitures in the late reigns ſhould not be got ready, becauſe his brother and one of his ſons poſſeſſed eſtates in conſequence of thoſe forfeitures *: A delay which exaſperated all the exiles, who were eager to recover their honours and fortunes. He concealed the inſtructions which he had to carry through

eight choſen by the reſpective bodies to which they belonged, and the eight officers of ſtate, who were named by the crown. They were a committee appointed for putting the buſineſs of parliament into form after it was moved in the houſe; but they had no power to exclude any motion. In the Scotch parliament, buſineſs proceeded not as in the Engliſh, by bills paſſing in ſlow forms, and after repeated readings through one houſe, then ſent to the other: The bill, on the contrary, received only one reading; all the members formed but one aſſembly; and parliaments often ſat only a few days at a time. In ſuch a ſtate of things, a committee intended to give facility to buſineſs, was a wiſe and neceſſary contrivance; and common juſtice and policy required, that ſome of the king's ſervants, to take care of the king's intereſt, ſhould be conſtituent members of it. But, in the reign of James I. of England, a period when the plan of exalting the power of the crown by law was firſt laid, the lords of articles were converted into a court-committee, with a negative upon parliament before debate: For, firſt by uſage from the year 1633, and afterwards by ſtatute, cap. 1. ſeſſ. 3. par. 1. ch. 2. the biſhops choſe eight noblemen, the nobility eight biſhops, theſe ſixteen eight knights and eight burgeſſes, to all of whom were added the eight officers of ſtate; and this committee aſſumed a power of rejecting what motions they pleaſed. But as all the biſhops and the greateſt part of the nobles were, from this period, at the devotion of the crown, it is obvious the crown had the real nomination of the committee. At the revolution, the convention-parliament inſiſted that the committee of articles ſhould be put upon the footing on which it ſtood previous to the year 1633, with this alteration, that the officers of ſtate ſhould be excluded. The king, by his firſt inſtructions to the Duke of Hamilton, which were given him before the parliament ſat down, directed him to put the committee of articles exactly upon its ancient footing before the year 1633: And, when this was found diſagreeable to the parliament, the duke received other inſtructions, to allow each order of parliament to name eleven out of its own order, to which the eight officers of ſtate were to be added: A conceſſion which could not have failed to have given the ſuperiority to the ſubject over the crown. And, in order to ſecure that ſuperiority ſtill further, the parliament was to have a power of changing this committee as often as it pleaſed, and the committee was to have no power of rejecting motions.

* Lord Balcarras.

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the popular acts in confirmation of the claim of rights: Hence the king was blamed by his beſt friends for his inattention to the intereſts of the nation, and to his own promiſes *. Laſtly, the Duke inflamed the reſentment of the public, and of individuals, by imputing all the diſappointments which either ſuffered to the new miniſters.

An oppoſition formed in the Scottiſh parliament.

From theſe cauſes and circumſtances, the ſame aſſembly which, as a convention, had, two months before, diſcovered the moſt unbounded confidence in William, now, when converted into a parliament, engaged in a formal and determined oppoſition to all his meaſures. They provided no revenue for him. They refuſed to ſupport his forces, although there was a civil war yet unextinguiſhed in their country: A piece of obſtinacy attended with miſchievous conſequences! for it obliged the king to diſband a part of his Scotch army, and to leave the reſt without pay, and the ſoldiers who were retained in the ſervice †, to live upon free quarter. Some of the popular bills, which, in ſpite of the commiſſioner, had been forced into parliament by ſome, were diſappointed by others, leſt the king ſhould get the popularity of aſſenting to them; and others of theſe bills were carried through the houſe, becauſe it was known under-hand, that the commiſſioner was to put a negative upon them. In order to hurt Lord Stair and the prerogative together, the parliament paſſed a bill which gave the nomination of a new ſet of judges to the parliament, and of the preſident to the judges; and,

* Vide "An account of the affairs of Scotland in their civil and religious rights, printed at London for Richard Baldwin, anno 1690;" believed to have been written by Sir John Dalrymple, afterwards Earl of Stair.

Vide alſo General M'Kay's manuſcript memoirs, and correſpondence with Lord Portland, from which it appears, the duke confeſſed to General M'Kay, that though he was ſtrongly attached to the king's title, yet he had at this time thwarted his meaſures from revenge.

† General M'Kay's manuſcript memoirs. Books of Scottiſh privy-council.

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PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

in order to hurt his ſon, they paſſed another, which declared, that thoſe who had concurred in any of the illegal meaſures of the late government ſhould be incapable of public truſt. The terms of this laſt bill were made ſo broad, that, had it got the royal aſſent, it muſt have thrown the whole nation into a flame *. In an aſſembly, whoſe forms of proceeding were not very preciſely aſcertained, where moſt wiſhed for confuſion, and none more than he who was ſent to prevent it, thoſe who oppoſed the court perplexed the debates, by debating on the order of motions †, and reverſing the reſolutions which had been voted: And they inflamed the populace to ſo great a degree, that the new judges were obliged to take their ſeats under the protection of a regiment of dragoons. In this way, ſeveral weeks were conſumed; only nine public bills paſſed the houſe, and to five of theſe, the commiſſioner refuſed his aſſent, under pretence, that they infringed the prerogative, although he had inſtructions to paſs three of them, and to compromiſe another: And then, with pretended vexation, and real joy for the bad ſucceſs of the ſeſſion, he adjourned it. The new miniſters complained of the commiſſioner to the king: The commiſſioner repreſented, that even popular meaſures could not be carried through by unpopular miniſters. Uncertain whoſe advices to follow, or what meaſures to take, the king, from time to time, adjourned the parliament for near a year ‡.

Scottiſh parliament adjourned.

Sir James Montgomery's arts to irritate the members.

But theſe adjournments gave not even a momentary quiet to William. Sir James Montgomery took advantage of the miſchiefs, moſt of which he had created. To the preſbyterians he inſinuated, "That the king had "paſſed an act, which aboliſhed prelacy, but did not ſub-"ſtitute preſbytery in its place, only with an intention

* Proceedings of the Scottiſh parliament vindicated; written by Sir James Montgomery. † Lord Stair's account, p. 30.

‡ Appendix to this book, No. 2.

1689.

" to keep a treaty open between himſelf and their ene-
" mies." To the epiſcopal clergy, he took care it ſhould be foretold, " That that act, uncomplete as it was, was " the forerunner of plunging their order into poverty." And to the laity of their communion, " That what had " happened to their fathers would happen to them: For " they would ſoon ſee their wives and families regulated " by puritanical teachers, and themſelves obliged to do " penance in congregations of their foes." And to both ſides he appealed, " If that Prince muſt not be indifferent " to religion altogether*, by whoſe means, one ſet of " clergy had been virtually diſmiſſed from the miniſtry " of religion, and yet no other even virtually admit-" ted into it?" The ancient nobility, and chiefly thoſe of the north, he irritated by their pride and their jealouſy. " All power in the kingdom," he ſaid, " was " put into the hands of three men, without alliance or " followers; while they, whoſe families had been in uſe " to command the fate of their country, and could com-" mand it again, were neglected. But, if neglect was " ſufferable, diſtruſt was not: Their reſidence in the " highlands made the imputation of their attachment to " the late royal cauſe eaſy; and miniſters, whoſe party " was narrow, and who were themſelves of low-country " families, had an intereſt to mark a diſtinction between " the two parts of the kingdom, and to repreſent their " own enemies as rebels to their maſter." To the revolution country-party, he exclaimed, " However magna-" nimous or wiſe the king might be, he was a ſtranger " to Scotland. He had given his confidence to three " miniſters, one of whom, Lord Melvile, becauſe not ac-" cuſtomed to buſineſs, was almoſt as much a ſtranger " to the affairs of Scotland as his maſter: Another of

* General M'Kay's manuſcript.

PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

" whom had betrayed Charles II. and the third, his " ſucceſſor. Theſe miniſters had aſſociated into their " councils, two perſons who had turned againſt the late " government, by which they had been truſted *, and " now only pretended to ſerve the preſent government, " that by treating it in the ſame manner, they might " atone for their former offence. All theſe men, except " Lord Melvile, had, at ſome period of their lives, been " the inſtruments of the late reigns; but the inſtruments " of tyranny were improper miniſters of freedom. Every " king loved power; and the king had choſen them, " only becauſe he knew they would make his will their " own, and force others to leſſen their diſgrace, by " ſharing it. Freedom had already been injured; for " the royal aſſent had been refuſed to the popular bills " called for by the people, and preſented by the parlia- " ment. The king had loſt his own popularity in his " miniſters want of it; and ſmall was the diſtance be- " tween the contempt of popularity and of virtue. The " Duke of Lauderdale had made courts of juſtice " the great ſanctuaries of oppreſſion; and now a man " was placed at the head of the law, who had been the " friend of Lauderdale. Occupied entirely with the af- " fairs of England and Ireland, the king had laid aſide all " attention to the welfare of Scotland. His ſoldiers " ſpoiled that country which they ought to have pro- " tected: He had neglected to reſtore the rights of citi- " zens to the companions of his hazards: And he ad- " journed from time to time, that national aſſembly, " which alone could find remedies for ſuch diſorders, " deeming his miniſters his only friends, and his parlia- " ment his chief foes †."

* Lord Tarbet got his peerage from James the Second, and was one of his ſecret committee. Vide Lord Balcarras. Lord Breadalbane was made a peer by Charles the Second, and was a favourite of both brothers.

† Proceedings of the Scotch parliament, written by Sir James Montgomery.

By

1689.

By such arts, Sir James Montgomery persuaded most of the members of the parliament to join in an address to the king, notwithstanding the recess, in which, in terms affectedly respectful, but full of real reproaches, they complained of his not carrying the claim of rights into execution *. Another was sent from the presbyterian clergy; a third from the boroughs.

They present a remonstrance to the king.

It was in vain for the King to publish his instructions to the Duke of Hamilton, in order to shew the purity of his intentions: In vain Sir John Dalrymple, in speaking and in writing, reminded his countrymen, "That while "England, by the revolution, had got no more than "the re-establishment of constitutional freedom, Scot-"land had made an escape from constitutional tyranny: "For all the laws in the one country, were on the side "of the subject; but in the other, absolute power had "been established by law, during the two last reigns, in

Attempts to pacify them prove vain.

* The address complained, that six of their favourite bills had been either refused or disappointed. 1mo, The bill altering the constitution of the Lords of articles. This bill, as they had framed it, was unreasonable (vide note on a former page); but the commissioner had power to compromise it. 2do, The bill for abolishing the king's supremacy. The commissioner had power to pass it; for, by his first instructions given him before the parliament sat down, he was directed "to pass an act, establishing that church-government "which is most agreeable to the inclinations of the people, rescinding the "act of parliament of the year 1669 (that is, the act of supremacy), and all "acts inconsistent therewith." And, by his second instructions given him while the parliament was sitting, he received orders "to pass what act "should be proposed for settling the church-government according to his "former instructions." 3tio, The bill of disabilities; it was equally unjust and impolitic. 4to, The bill giving the nomination of the judges to parliament, and of the president to the judges. This bill was contrary to ancient practice (vide Lord Stair's vindication of himself), to prerogative and to public interest. 5to, The bill for restoring those presbyterian ministers who had been ejected from their charges since the year 1661. The Duke had power to pass it, by his instructions relative to church-government. 6to, The address complained, that those who had been forfeited in the late reigns were not restored. The Duke, by article 3d of his 2d instructions, was impowered to pass a general act of restoration. Vide Lord Stair's account.

PART II. BOOK III. 1689.

" the ſtate *, in the church †, over private property ‡, " over foreign trade §, and in thoſe branches ‖ of taxa- " tion which depended upon it. That the intention of " the king to throw this power from him, becauſe, by " diſgracing the people, it degraded him who reigned " over them, and to reſtore them to the freedom of their " anceſtors, had been diſappointed by the madneſs of " party. It was natural for a prince, who was unac- " quainted with his new ſubjects, in a country divided by " high factions, to put his chief confidence, for ſome " time at leaſt, in men whoſe fidelity he knew, until he " had tried that of others. The tranſition was eaſy, " from embarraſſing the meaſures, to proceed to oppoſing " the title of a new government. Men, diſappointed in " their ambition, had taken advantage of the virtues of " their countrymen, to engage them in the one. The " unwary would find, when too late, that the ſame men " had inſenſibly drawn them into the other. Let them, " therefore, beware of ſhewing that they were equally

* Vide act 2. parl. 1 James II. † Vide act of ſupremacy, act 1. parl. 1669. ‡ By the act 16 parl. 1681, it is declared, " That, " notwithſtanding the juriſdictions and offices created by the crown, his " ſacred Majeſty may, by himſelf or any commiſſioned by him, take cogni- " zance and deciſion of any caſes or cauſes he pleaſes." § By the act 27. 1663, the king had the power of regulating foreign trade.

‖ By the act 27. 1663, the king had the power of taxing foreign trade as he pleaſed.

The four ſtatutes quoted in the five laſt notes, prove clearly, that Charles the Second, and his brother, had laid down his ſyſtem, regular, and connected in all its parts, to eſtabliſh an abſolute monarchy in Scotland. There were two cauſes of the Scotch conſenting to theſe ſtatutes. The one was the frequency of unſucceſsful rebellions during the reigns of thoſe princes, which made every man who oppoſed the court be accounted a rebel. The other was, the extraordinary powers which the privy-council exerted, during thoſe reigns, and which threw terror upon all. I know nothing ſo effectual to make a man a good whig, as a peruſal of the books of the Scottiſh privy-council. Before the reign of Charles the Second, the ſubject in Scotland was by the laws as independent upon the Sovereign as in England.

" uncapable

" uncapable of living without liberty, and of knowing " how to bear it." But the flame of party was raiſed, and it was in vain to expect, that truth, juſtice, or public intereſt, could extinguiſh it. Fatigued and peeviſh with the intereſted politics of the Scotch, an expreſſion eſcaped from the king, which was not forgotten to be repeated by his enemies, " That he wiſhed he had never " been king of Scotland." Words unguarded and unwiſe! As if a million and a half of free ſubjects could be a trifling object to any monarch upon earth. 1689.

Thus, in return for having delivered three kingdoms from popery and ſlavery, William, before he was a year upon the throne, found himſelf repaid with faction in one of them, with rebellion in another, and with both in the third. But the diſſenſion between the two royal ſiſters gave him more vexation than all the three; becauſe he foreſaw that latent reaſons would follow it, which he would not dare to puniſh, or even to unveil.

APPENDIX

TO

PART II. BOOK III.

In the cheſt there is a letter from the Princeſs Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne; the tenderneſs of which to an unfortunate though guilty prince, does honour to her memory.

The Princeſs Sophia to King William upon his elevation to the throne—her joy—her pity for King James—her attachment to the Proteſtant religion.—In King William's cabinet.

Tranſlation.

AFTER the profeſſion which I have always made of being an humble ſervant to your Majeſty, I believe you cannot doubt of the part which I take in every thing that contributes to your elevation and your glory: Yet I lament King James, who honoured me with his friendſhip. I ſhould be afraid that your Majeſty would have a bad opinion of my ſincerity if I concealed from you this ſentiment. I am even perſuaded that my candour will give you a better opinion of me, and that your Majeſty will the more eaſily believe the proteſtation which I make you of my prayers for your proſperity, and of the opinion I have, that you deſerve the crown which you wear, in a thouſand reſpects which I am unable to name, from the fear of ſhocking your modeſty. However, as it has pleaſed God to make your Majeſty the protector of our religion, I hope you will put it alſo in a ſtate to have

its arms free, to aſſiſt us poor mortals, who, by the deſolation of our neighbours, are near to that roaring beaſt which endeavours to devour us, in order that all thoſe who are not papiſts may ſucceſſively maintain the religion we profeſs to all eternity, in England and elſewhere; and that your Majeſty may count among the moſt zealous, one who ſhall be all her life, &c.

BOOK IV.

PREPARATIONS for the War in Ireland.—Schomberg's March to Dundalk.—Schomberg's Encampment at Dundalk, and Miſeries of his Army.—Retreat of the Armies into Quarters.—The King becomes unpopular.—Account of Church-matters.—Great Heats in Parliament.—The Commons reſolve upon an Addreſs diſapproving of the King's Meaſures.—The King relieved from it by an Accident.—Diſſenſions revived in the Royal Family.—The King's Diſtreſs between the Whigs and the Tories.—He breaks with the Whigs, and diſſolves the Parliament.

WILLIAM perceived too late, that his neglect of Ireland had been either the capital error or the capital misfortune of his new reign. The diſturbed ſtate of that kingdom had encouraged thoſe in Britain who diſputed his title, had given a handle to thoſe who complained of his meaſures, and he now found was likely to ſtop the career of his ambition againſt France: For the cries of his people, and the fears of his miniſters for their own ſafety, diſcovered to him that the care of the dominions of England was, in the eyes of Engliſhmen, an object far more important than humbling the power of any foreign nation, however formidable or obnoxious.

Preparations for the war in Ireland.

PART II. BOOK IV.

1689.

He therefore reſolved to proſecute the reduction of Ireland, with a force proportioned to its difficulty. But he was afraid to ſend the late king's army to fight againſt him; and therefore ordered twenty-three * new regiments

June 27.

to be raiſed. The levies were completed in ſix weeks: For England, by a long peace, was filled with men impatient for war, becauſe they loved its glories, and knew not its miſeries. Theſe regiments, with two Dutch battalions, and four of French refugees, were deſtined for the ſervice: And they were to be joined in Ireland by the Inniſkillingers, together with ſuch regiments as could be ſpared from Scotland, becauſe both of thoſe bodies of men had been tried againſt their late maſter; and by ſix thouſand hired Danes, becauſe theſe knew no maſter except him who paid them. Suſpicion of his own ſubjects made William give the direction of the expedition alſo to foreigners: He appointed Marſhal Schomberg, then eighty years of age, to be the firſt, and Count Solmes the ſecond in command. In order to give more ſplendour to the command, the King honoured Schomberg with a dukedom, and the garter; and the houſe of commons voted him a preſent of 100,000 pounds. Before Schomberg ſet out, he waited upon that aſſembly, to thank them, and to take his farewel; and was received with thoſe attentions, which, from aſſemblies guided by the will of another, are tireſome ceremonies, but from aſſemblies of free men, are the moſt pleaſing of all honours.

State of the new army intended for Ireland.

Schomberg arrived at Cheſter on the 20th of July: But here he found almoſt nothing ready for his expedition. The Engliſh, unaccuſtomed to war in their own country, knew not how to prepare for it. Moſt of the regiments, by miſtakes of orders, were not come up; and thoſe which came were incomplete. There was not a ſufficient

* Books of privy-council.

number

number of tranſports for carrying the horſes for the artillery and baggage; nor a proper quantity of proviſions in the magazines; neither were the convoys ready. The clothes, ſhoes, and tents of the new levies were bad: Few of the men had ever fired a muſket; and, from the pride which is natural to the Engliſh populace, moſt of them were impatient of command. Nor were their officers much better. Cromwell's officers were long ago dead, or had retired to the country, or had entered into trade, having forgot their crimes and their virtues alike. Few new ones had been formed in the reign of Charles II. from the people's jealouſy of an army, and the king's of a militia; and of theſe few, moſt had been corrupted by the reſidence in London, which that prince aſſigned to the ſmall force he maintained. And the preſent king was afraid to truſt many of James's officers among the new levies: So that the new commiſſions had been given moſtly to the younger ſons of country gentlemen, with a view to attach their fathers and brothers to the new eſtabliſhment.

Schomberg fails with a part of his army, and takes Carrickfergus.

The Duke of Schomberg continued twenty-two days at Cheſter, to haſten all things neceſſary, but to little purpoſe. At laſt, that he might not loſe the ſeaſon of action altogether, he ſet ſail on the 12th of Auguſt, with no more than 10,000 men, of which a few only were cavalry, and with part of his artillery, leaving orders for the reſt of the army to follow him as faſt it could. The fleet arrived next day in the bay of Carrickfergus. Schomberg reſolved, by ſome exploit of conſequence, but not of danger, to give reputation to his arms; a thing which he knew he needed, to encourage new troops, and to intimidate a new foe; and therefore, about a week after his landing, he laid ſiege to Carrickfergus, and took it in four days, with a garriſon of 2500 men in it.

Auguſt 26.

1689.

Schomberg's march to Dundalk.

The country from Carrickfergus to Dundalk * was full of mountains and bogs; but, beyond that town, it was level, dry, and open. Schomberg, ſenſible from this form of the country, that in a march to Dundalk, he could be ſafe againſt attacks of cavalry or artillery, in which the enemy was ſtrong and himſelf weak, but that he muſt be expoſed to both, if he advanced any farther, reſolved to march his ſmall army to Dundalk, and to continue there until the reſt of his forces and equipage ſhould join him. He ſent moſt of the artillery which he had brought with him from England by ſea to Carlingford, a port eight miles from Dundalk, becauſe he had not horſes to draw it, and carried with his army only the lighteſt of his field-pieces. He ordered the tranſports which ſhould arrive from England to rendezvous at the ſame port, and the Inniſkillingers to join him upon his route.

During this march, which laſted ſix days, the raw ſoldiers got the firſt taſte of thoſe hardſhips, which afterwards thickened upon them. As the rainy ſeaſon had begun earlier than uſual, the ground, naturally looſe of itſelf, was rendered, by this accident, ſo much looſer, that the ſoldiers either could not pitch their tents †, or where they did, the wind blew them down. In going along the ſides of mountains ſlippery with rain, the men and horſes fell: In paſſing through bogs, they ſtuck in the mud. The artillery-horſes having failed, in roads which were not able to bear the weight of the artillery, the ſoldiers were obliged to drag the carriages along; or, where the carriages ſunk, attempted to carry the field-pieces upon their ſhoulders. From the want of baggage-horſes, a ſufficiency of proviſions had not been brought with the army; and wherever the ſoldiers threw

* Story, p. 43. † Ibid. 1. p. 13.

their

their eyes, they beheld ſolitude and famine: For the proteſtants had quitted the country the ſpring before in the general panic, and the Roman catholics now fled at the approach of Schomberg. The cattle had been driven off, or were ſeen ſlaughtered and putrified on the roads *: The corn lay reaped, but rotting on the ground. Over the doors †, and in the thatch of almoſt every houſe, crucifixes were placed: No other furniture was left; and even theſe veſtiges of men cauſed the preſent ſolitude to ſtrike the deeper impreſſion upon the minds of the new ſoldiers, who had come ſo lately from objects of population and plenty. The junction of the Inniſkilling dragoons raiſed ſentiments that were ambiguous: They were followed ‡ by multitudes of their women; they were uncouth in their appearance; they rode on ſmall horſes called garrons; their piſtols were not fixed in holſters, but dangled about their perſons, being ſlung to their ſword-belts; they offered with ſpirit to make always the forlorn of the army; but, upon the firſt order they received, they cried out, "They could thrive no longer, "ſince they were now put under orders ‖."

Schomberg encamps at Dundalk.

Schomberg continued ten days encamped near Dundalk, in vain expecting aſſiſtance to enable him to go forward. No forces, artillery, baggage, proviſions, or horſes, arrived from England, and no aids from Scotland or Denmark. Even the artillery which he had ſent from Carrickfergus to Carlingford, was detained by croſs winds. The Iriſh, who had retreated before him from a belief that his force was as ſtrong as was intended, now made a ſtand at Drogheda, ſixteen miles from Dundalk; and Marſhal Roſen, hearing that the enemy was halted, ſaid, "Then he was ſure Schomberg wanted ſomething,"

* Story, 1. p. 12. and 14. † Ibid. p. 13.
‡ General M'Kay's manuſcript memoirs. ‖ Story.

and

PART II. BOOK IV.

1689. Sept. 16.

and ordered all the Iriſh forces to quit their different ſtations and garriſons, and advance towards Dundalk. Schomberg, conſcious of his danger, entrenched himſelf in a place ſtrong by nature. His front to the weſt was protected by a river between him and the enemy, on the eaſt by the Newry mountains, on the ſouth by the ſea, and on the north by hills and bogs intermixed. He made it ſtronger by art, fortifying his camp with all ancient and modern devices. Here he reſolved to wait patiently until the reſt of the forces ſhould arrive; and in the mean time to form his new levies to the arts and diſcipline of war.

Schomberg's error in this encampment, and the miſeries of his army.

But a complete general ought always to regard the art of preſerving health as one of the chief arts of war. Schomberg conſidered not, that armies confined to one ſpot muſt fall into diſeaſes. He knew not the phyſical qualities of the ſtation and climate in which his camp was fixed. He reflected not upon the difference between the former and the preſent habits of life of his ſoldiers. The common people of England, though accuſtomed to work hard, indulge in return in more of the conveniencies of life than the ſubjects of any other country: For they are accuſtomed to enjoy dry and warm ſleeping-places, raiment contrived not for ſhow but for health, plentiful, wholeſome, and regular meals, and ſtated hours of labour, reſt, and ſleep. Hence, in the inactive ſtate and confined ſtation of Schomberg's army, which deprived the ſoldiers of their wonted exerciſe; in the low and damp ſituation of Dundalk; and in the moiſt climate of Ireland; his ſoldiers, without fewel almoſt of any kind; obliged to lie abroad, ſometimes in the open air, and at beſt in bad tents; dreſſed in clothes to which they had not been accuſtomed, and which were contrived more for ſhow than for health; pinched in the allowance of their proviſions, and theſe not always good in their quality;

lity; and expoſed to every ſort of irregularity in their meals, labour, and ſleep; fell into fluxes and fevers, and died in great numbers. The arrival of ſome troops from Londonderry imported the contagion of an infected town into an infected camp: And the evil was without cure, becauſe the ſurgeons, who had brought plenty of bandages, and inſtruments for the cure of wounds *, had forgot the far more material article of remedies for diſeaſes. 1689.

The enemies in the mean time, to the amount of 40,000 men, encamped upon the adjacent heights, and, continually ſhifting their ſtation, enjoyed exerciſe, air, and health. They tried many arts to provoke Schomberg, or rather his ſoldiers, to battle; ſometimes attacking his out-poſts in order to engage the army in their defence, and at other times, paſſing near his lines to inſult his ſoldiers, and draw them out. Once they marched in battle-array ſtraight to his camp, and offered him battle. The officers of the artillery aſked leave to fire. But Schomberg, knowing the difficulty of reſtraining new ſoldiers after action is begun, gave orders that no gun ſhould be diſcharged, until the enemy came within muſket-ſhot. The Iriſh at laſt, finding that all their attempts to bring him into action were fruitleſs, ſat down in a camp near his, and, falling into the ſame ſtate of inactivity, were afflicted with the ſame diſeaſes: So that, between the two armies, there ſeemed to be a contention, not which ſhould conquer, but which ſhould bear death with moſt fortitude. Sept. 21.

But as men in ſickneſs are always impatient, and think they relieve their miſeries by turning their complaints upon others, Schomberg's ſoldiers, and too many of his officers, complained aloud, "That they had been brought "from their native homes, the regions of every bliſs,

* Story, 1. p. 26.

"to

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

" to a country in which every breath of air wafted peſti-
" lence along with it; and yet were now precluded from
" the privilege of dying like brave men with arms in their
" hands. There was the enemy, battle, and conqueſt:
" Here only inaction, diſgrace, the dying, and the dead."
They next converted their reſentment againſt their general, " whoſe age," they ſaid, " rendered him equally
" inactive againſt the enemy's army, and incapable of
" attending to the ſtate of his own, and who becauſe he
" was a foreigner, looked with indifference upon the
" ſufferings of Engliſhmen." Schomberg ſaw the danger of leading men to battle whoſe ſpirits were only irritated by deſpair; that, in advancing, there was ruin; in retiring, both diſgrace and danger; and upon theſe accounts, the neceſſity of continuing in the ſtrong poſt he poſſeſſed. But, knowing how fruitleſs it would be, to apply reaſon to complaints which were founded in feeling, he ſubmitted to bear the clamours of a people, whoſe independence makes clamour habitual, and whoſe ſufferings made it at that time excuſable.

But he ſent diſpatch after diſpatch to the ſhores, and into England and Scotland, for help. Once he quitted the army himſelf, and went to Carlingford, as if his preſence in the place where ſuccours ſhould have come, could have relieved his mind from reflecting they were not there. By degrees, ſome ſhips arrived from Britain, and by degrees ſome regiments: But the regiments from Scotland were thin, many * of the men having deſerted for want of pay, and all the new ſuccours were not ſufficient to fill up the places of the dead. When theſe regiments arrived, Schomberg ordered the uſual honours of firing at the burials of officers to be diſcontinued, both to conceal his loſſes from the enemy, and to hide danger from his new friends. But the order only ſerved to call

* Story, 37. 46.

the attention of theſe laſt to the horrors of that camp into which they were entering; and the ſilence, by varying the impreſſion, increaſed the havoc in the imaginations of thoſe who were in it before. To ſave the troops, he ordered them to be hutted: But this heightened their ſenſe of miſeries, becauſe it ſhewed them they were to be laſting.

From anger, the ſoldiers fell into deſpondency. Catching by contagion * the ſuperſtition of the country in which they were, they recounted to each other all the calamities which, from the moſt ancient times, had befallen armies at Dundalk †. A report was believed among them, that the year before, two meteors had been ſeen hovering over Dundalk in the night-time, and that heavy groans and ſhrieks had been heard, at the ſame time, in the air. But this ſucceſſion of paſſions gave way in the end, as often happens, to total indifference of ſentiment. The minds of the ſoldiers became ſo callous ‡, that when their dying companions were carried from the tents to the hoſpitals, thoſe who remained complained they were bereft of ſhelter from the wind: They drew the dead bodies to them, and made uſe of them for ſeats and pillows: They ſhewed no pity, or even attention to each other's diſtreſſes; and, ſurrounded with death upon all ſides, every one acted as if he alone was immortal. The only paſſion which ſeemed to be alive in them was envy: For the Dutch corps having preſerved their health entire, either from their being veteran troops, or becauſe they had been habituated to a moiſt climate, or from the warmer clothing of the men, and the ſuperior attention of their officers and ſurgeons; the Engliſh ſoldiers imputed it to the greater care which Schomberg took of Dutch troops than of their countrymen.

* General M'Kay's manuſcript correſpondence with King William and Lord Portland. † Story, 145. Hamilton, 35.

‡ Story, 1. p. 30.

PART II. BOOK IV.

1689.

In November, the rains became ſo intolerable, that both armies, as if by mutual agreement, quitted their camps at the ſame time, in order to retire to quarters, without attempting to take advantage of each other's retreat; both unable to annoy, both happy not to be annoyed. But the retreat of the Engliſh preſented the misfortune in the greateſt extent: For the Iriſh, being maſters of the country, had privately carried off their ſick by degrees, and by different routes: But, the day before the Engliſh decamped, they ſent off theirs in one body; ſo that thoſe who had hitherto known only their neighbours diſtreſſes, or their own, ſaw now the calamity of all. And becauſe the ſpirits of the officers and ſoldiers were not agitated by an enemy's army purſuing them, they contemplated with the greater leiſure the weakneſs of their own army. As ſoon as the huts and tents were uncovered, the whole range of the camp looked like one vaſt hoſpital; and the number of thoſe who were preparing the ſick for their journey was ſo great, that moſt of the army ſeemed to be no more than attendants upon it. As there was not a ſufficient number of waggons for carrying off all the ſick, many came along, leaning on their companions, or reeling where their anxiety to be gone had made them attempt to walk without help. As it is natural for the human mind, when in dejection, to oppoſe whatever is propoſed to it, the ſick ſoldiers, who received orders to go to England, exclaimed they were now to be expoſed to a mercileſs element, after having eſcaped from a mercileſs climate; and thoſe who were to be ſent to the hoſpital at Belfaſt, complained that their ſociety in infection was only to be prolonged, and that they were unjuſtly detained from the care which their own friends and relations would have taken of them in their own country. Many, in a ſullen deſpair, declared they would end their miſeries where they had begun them.

First day of the retreat of the Engliſh army into quarters.

them. And the ſoldiers who were left behind, either becauſe there were not carriages for them, or becauſe they could not bear to be carried, mixed tender adieus with bitter execrations againſt their companions who forſook them. Upon the ſight of all theſe things, men felt for the whole that pity which they had not felt for individuals: For public miſery, as often happens, reſtored private virtue. Schomberg ordered the colonels and brigadiers to attend, like corporals and ſerjeants, upon the waggons, the ſhips, and the hoſpitals. He ſtood himſelf, during many hours in the cold and rain, leaning upon a bridge, along which the long line of carriages, filled with diſabled ſoldiers, paſſed in the ſight of the army, to thank them for their ſervices, to lament their diſtreſſes, to cheriſh their ſpirits, and to reprimand every officer who ſhewed not the ſame attention with himſelf; ſhaking with age, but more with the ſtrength of affection. The Divinity has given to all men ſome portion of his own virtue. Touched with the generous ſenſibility of their general, the ſoldiers repented of all the clamours they had raiſed againſt him, and attentive only to his anguiſh, forgot their own. In the mean time, 200 of the enemy's horſe having appeared in ſight, a falſe alarm was given, that their army was approaching to ſtorm the lines. The healthy prepared to haſten back to defend a camp late the object of their horror; and the ſick unbuckled the tents, which had been packed up for keeping them warm in the ſhips, in order to give their companions, who were returning to the camp, that ſhelter which they took from themſelves. With a ſpirited pleaſantry, the ſoldiers ſaid one to another, "The rogues ſhall now pay for the wet quarters, in which they have kept us ſo long *."

Second day's retreat.

But the march of the army itſelf, next day, was more lamentable ſtill; when the ſoldiers obſerved the diminution

* Story, 1. p. 50.

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

of their numbers, ſome companies * not having twelve men in them; the inability of many to bear the march, who, though they had appeared to be in health, had loſt their ſtrength; the bloom of Engliſh youth with which they had entered the camp, changed into the ſallowneſs of old age in all; and marched through the dead and dying bodies of their friends, who the preceding day had gone before them: Many who died in the paſſage † had been caſt upon the roads from the waggons; others had fallen off, or, unable to bear the jolting, had thrown themſelves down; and of theſe, ſome in faint tones adjured their companions who were paſſing them, to bear them along, and others, in bolder voices, by the blows of ſoldiers and of friends, to end all their miſeries. Relations agree, that of 15,000 who at different times entered the Engliſh camp, above 8000 died in the camp, or ſoon after they left it; and the loſs of the Iriſh was not much leſs ‡.

The whigs impute the misfortunes of the army to the tories.

The Engliſh know no intermediate line between ſucceſs and defeat. Accuſtomed to high hopes by their liberty, their wealth, their valour, and the ſecurity which the ſea gives them, of inſulting every-where with impunity, they heard with the ſame indignation that Ireland was not conquered, as they would have heard that it was loſt. It happened that ſeveral who ſerved the fleet and army had been ſervants to the late king, and others were known to be of the tory party. The whigs therefore ſpread a report through the nation, which, in circumſtances of difficulty, is always jealous, but, at this period of national diviſion, was doubly ſo, that the miſcarriages in Ireland were the effect of deſign. They aſked, "Where was "the wonder that the ſervants of the late king, or thoſe "attached to his intereſt, ſhould embarraſs a ſervice di-

* Story, 35. † Ibid. 1. p. 36.
‡ See Appendix to this Book, No. 1.

"rected

" rected againſt their old maſter?" Nothing was laid to the charge of accident; nothing to the looſeneſs incident to a new and unſettled government, which had a vaſt variety of new objects to attend to at once; nothing to the avarice of contractors; nothing to diſeaſe itſelf. Schomberg eſcaped blame, under the pretence of pity for the uſage he had met with. And ſome of deep and malignant reflection ſaid, " The King kept the war alive, that he " might have the glory of ending it himſelf."

The King becomes unpopular.

In this ſituation, the King became unpopular in the ſame degree in which, the year before, he had been the idol of the people. His breach with the church, his differences with the whigs, or rather the breach of the church, and the differences of the whigs with him, together with the dark appearances of public events, had inſenſibly alienated the affections of the people. Even the imprudent and cruel meaſures of James's government in Ireland, irritated the ſpirits of men againſt the King's in England. With imbittered tempers, with gloomy forebodings, they firſt whiſpered to each other, and then exclaimed in public, " That the kingdom was equally " doomed by Providence to ruin, whether the fate of war " ſhould beſtow it upon a prince who was an enemy, or " upon one who was indifferent to its intereſts." As, in moments of high paſſion, the paſſions are eaſily transferred to trifles, the manners, even the looks of the King, gave diſguſt to his Engliſh ſubjects. The facility of temper of James the Firſt; the neceſſities under which his ſucceſſor laboured; the magnanimity of Cromwell, which cauſed him to deſpiſe diſtance and form; the habits of pleaſure of Charles the Second, and thoſe of party-buſineſs of the late king, which he choſe to manage by himſelf, and not by others; had made all theſe princes eaſy of acceſs, and had created an appearance of crowds, and eaſe, and buſtle about their courts: Hence people of faſhion

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

fashion in England had been long accustomed to look upon their sovereign in some degree as their companion, and upon his place of residence as theirs. But William, who did not consider that kings must be attentive even to trifles, because many of those who surround them are triflers, neglected many of the common attentions of a court. He was continually employed in his cabinet with his ministers, or in the field among his regiments, or in hunting the stag for his health. He thought, or pretended to think, that the smoke of London disagreed with him, and retired to Hampton-court; — a house which, because it was built upon a dead flat, and upon the banks of water stagnating to appearance, resembled a palace of Holland. He took pleasure in adorning it with sumptuous buildings and gardens in the Dutch taste, and with those flowers, trees, and ornaments, which are the favourites of Holland. In the minds of some, even of the wise *, the solitude of the palace at London seemed to throw a gloom upon its master. The citizens asked, "What offence had they committed to draw upon them "the desertion of their sovereign, and the loss of the "usual festivity and pomp of a court?" Some complained, "That William was lavishing the national "treasures upon his pleasures, at a time when the nation "was drained by the consumptions of foreign and of "civil war." Others said, "That, in the solitudes of "his new palace and gardens, and in the prospects they "afforded, he wished to forget that he was in England, "and to bring the remembrance of his own country "continually into his thoughts." The populace received their impressions, as they commonly do, from their senses. They remarked the King's small stature, the weak texture of his body, and, taking advantage of a

* Sir John Reresby.

peculiarity

peculiarity in his features, called him in deriſion "hook-"noſe." The malignant ſatisfaction with which the great and the little equally repeated court-ſcandal, marked the growth of the diſtemper in all. It was reported, that upon the King's neglecting to riſe when Lord Mulgrave entered his chamber, Mulgrave haſtily retired, muttering as he went out, "That he ſaw the King could riſe be-"fore nothing but towns:" that Lady Dorcheſter, the late King's miſtreſs, having been told that the Queen would treat her, when preſented, on no higher foot than her father's daughter, ſhe anſwered, "Then I will treat "her like her mother's;" and that the Queen having accordingly received her drily, ſhe ſaid, "There is no "occaſion for this: For if I broke one of the command-"ments with your father, you broke another." William having been often warned of this growing diſlike, endeavoured at laſt to remove it. He went * to the horſe-races at Newmarket, mingling, according to the manners of his Engliſh ſubjects, among the meaneſt and the greateſt of mankind. He ſubmitted to the fatigues of an univerſity-reception, and of a city-feaſt. He was made a tradeſman of London at his own deſire, and conferred knighthood upon the perſon who brought him his freedom. And he who was proud and a ſoldier, pretended to derive honour † from being choſen maſter of the grocers' company. But the awkwardneſs with which he made theſe efforts, only betrayed the uneaſineſs he felt in being obliged to make them.

While the minds of men were thus affected, the time arrived for the clergy to take the oaths to the new government, or to be ſuſpended if they did not. Eight biſhops, among whom were five of the ſix ſurviving prelates who had been ſent to the Tower by King James, together with a great number of the church of England,

The oaths refuſed by many of the church.

* Gazette, Oct. 7. † Ibid. Oct. 28.

refuſed

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

refuſed to ſwear; and of thoſe who complied, many did it with a reſervation of the diſtinction between a king *de facto* and a king *de jure*. Soon after, the Biſhop of Chicheſter, taking the ſacrament upon his death-bed, dictated a declaration, in which he teſtified the inward ſatisfaction he felt in ſuffering for the doctrine of paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance: A weak declaration from a weak man! Yet, as the laſt words of a martyr, it was ſpread through the nation, and, at this period of civil and religious ferment, added the impulſes of religion to thoſe of party in enthuſiaſtic minds.

Notwithſtanding theſe untoward appearances, the King proceeded in the only idle project he ever formed, that of uniting the church of England and the more moderate diſſenters in the doctrines, ceremonies, and eſtabliſhment of religion. For this purpoſe he appointed a commiſſion of the clergy to prepare the terms of a comprehenſion: And although the Houſe of Commons had addreſſed him for a convocation, only with a view to diſappoint his ſcheme, he ſummoned one in hopes of ſucceſs.

Operations of the commiſſion of the clergy.

Almoſt as ſoon as the commiſſion met, ſome even of moderate principles in religion, ſuch as the Biſhops of Rocheſter and Wincheſter, retired from it, being more afraid of breaking with their own order, than firm to their own principles. This intimidated the timid. Old names of diſgrace, if transferred by the multitude to new projects, generally defeat them. The commiſſion was branded with the name of *the new eccleſiaſtical commiſſion*. This determined the irreſolute againſt innovations. The reſt of the commiſſioners, however, proceeded, and drew up a number of conceſſions to be made to diſſenters in the forms and ceremonies of the church, all innocent, moſtly immaterial.

Operations of the convocation.

But the church ſeized the opportunity to rouſe the nation, and to diſplay her own importance to the King.

The elections of members to the lower houſe of convocation were every-where conteſted with an ardour equal to that which is commonly exhibited in elections to the lower houſe of parliament: A ſtruggle which diſcovered to the King that he was only bringing new diviſions and diſtractions upon his government. But it was too late to draw back; for, after the members were choſen, he could not diſmiſs them before they were aſſembled.

The convocation, which met upon the 21ſt of November, was even opened with diſſenſion: For Doctor Jane, the prolocutor of the lower houſe, in his inaugural ſpeech, extolled the excellency of the church of England above all other churches, and concluded with the famous declaration of the ancient Engliſh barons, "Nolumus leges "Angliæ mutari." The Biſhop of London, ſpeaker of the upper houſe, on the contrary, reminded his audience, "That they ought to ſhew that indulgence to diſſenters "under King William, which they had promiſed in their "addreſſes to King James." The members having been privately ſounded, as they came to town, were found to be refractory: The aſſembly was therefore adjourned, under pretence that the commiſſion for convening it wanted the great ſeal; but in reality to give time for working upon the paſſions and intereſts of individuals. But attempts were in vain. When the convocation reaſſembled, the upper houſe framed an addreſs, in which they thanked the King "for his zeal for the proteſtant "religion in general, and the church of England in par-"ticular;" becauſe theſe were the words which the King had made uſe of in his meſſage, to which this addreſs was an anſwer: But the lower houſe objected to the words, as too favourable to diſſenters, and refuſed to concur in the addreſs. Amendments were made; conferences were held upon theſe amendments; and, in both, the exceſs

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

of criticiſm diſcovered the exceſs of ſuſpicion *. Individuals cavilled at words, as if they had been matters of importance, and then indeed made them important by obſtinacy in their own opinions, and the violence of their oppoſition to thoſe of others. All the ſubtleties and vehemence of temper peculiar to eccleſiaſtical aſſemblies appeared in this ſhort ſtruggle of a few days, upon the words of the addreſs. The diſſenters looked on, ſenſible of the illiberality of others, but inattentive to their own. Some of the enemies of government wiſhed to ſee the comprehenſion take place, in hopes that, from the union, a new ſource of diviſion might ariſe, and that, in that diviſion, the party attached to the old church would naturally join itſelf to the party which was attached to the old King. But the convocation, inſtead of proceeding to the buſineſs for which it had been ſummoned, turned off to expreſs their indignation againſt ſome heretical books, and to conſult how their authors might be puniſhed. The ſcheme of comprehenſion was therefore not propoſed to them: The ſeſſion was adjourned: And the King at laſt became ſenſible, how much eaſier it was to unite ſeven provinces and an hundred towns, many of them againſt their inclinations; and one half of

* The upper houſe had propoſed in their addreſs, to thank the King "for his zeal for the proteſtant religion in general, and the church "of England in particular." The lower ſent a meſſage to the upper houſe, "That they deſired to confine their addreſs to thoſe things only "which concern the church of England." This produced a conference. The lower houſe ſignified they would agree to ſay "proteſtant churches," inſtead of "proteſtant religion." The upper houſe deſired a reaſon for this. The lower anſwered, "They did not think fit to mention religion any far-"ther than as it is the religion of ſome formed eſtabliſhed church." The upper houſe then propoſed to ſay, "The intereſt of the proteſtant religion "in this and all other proteſtant churches." But the other objected, that theſe words put all proteſtant countries upon a level with the church of England, and inſiſted to leave out the words, "this, and," which was agreed to.—Tindal, with the authorities he quotes.

the

the ſtates of Europe, many of them againſt their ancient alliances; in one common bond of political union; than to join fellow Britons, fellow proteſtants, men connected by friendſhip, relation, alliance, country, and intereſt, in one common mode of the proteſtant religion.

Campaign abroad.

The campaign of this ſummer was unfavourable for France. The French having ravaged the Palatinate *, with a barbarity unknown to the Goths and Vandals, ſparing neither the temples of the Deity, nor the tombs nor the palaces of princes; all Germany had united againſt them in revenge. The Duke of Lorrain, who had been expelled from his own dominions by the French, reconquered, in conjunction with the Elector of Brandenburgh, many of the places upon the Rhine, which the French had ſeized, while the Prince of Orange was employed in his expedition to England; and Prince Waldeck, with the Dutch and Engliſh under his command, defeated the French at Wallcourt. But theſe actions were only preludes to the war; and both ſides prepared themſelves for greater events in the courſe of it.

The parliament meets;

A little time before the convocation met, the King had aſſembled his parliament upon the 19th of October. But reflecting, that, in the laſt meeting, his meaſures had been obſtructed, partly on account of the miniſters he employed, he now informed the privy-council, that the ſpeech he had prepared for parliament, was compoſed by himſelf, and not as uſual by his miniſters; and he deſired Lord Halifax to yield his preſidency of the houſe of lords, and removed him from his confidence, with the ſame indifference with which he had admitted him to both. His ſpeech betrayed the extenſive foreign projects which continually occupied his mind. For of the ſervice needed for Ireland, he ſaid nothing: But he inſiſted, "that

* Siecle de Louis XIV.

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

"the supplies should be granted with speed, because, in "the ensuing month, there was to be a congress at the "Hague, of all the states engaged in the war, for con- "certing the measures of the campaign. Without these "supplies, he could not know in what resolutions to "concur, nor, without them, would the allies take any "joint measures with him." The miscarriages of last summer, he laid upon the lateness of the supplies which had been granted; a shrewd insinuation, which took the blame off his servants, at the same time that it suggested the necessity of furnishing what he wanted in better time for the future. In order to please the tories, he concluded with again recommending a bill of indemnity.

and proceeds in the footsteps of last session.

Two days after, the King turned the adjournment of the parliament into a prorogation, with a view to quash the resolutions and bills which had created disputes in the last session. But the commons saw through the intention; and, on the second day after they were reassembled *, appointed one committee to inspect and report the bills which had been in dependance, and another to examine the proceedings of last session against the state-prisoners in the Tower. And then they followed the footsteps of the former session: For, in the course of a few days, they recommitted those state-prisoners who had been bailed; they resolved to charge the Earls of Salisbury and Peterborrow, Sir Edward Hales. and Mr. Walker, with high-treason, for their conversion to popery, and the Earl of Castlemain for having endeavoured to reconcile the nation to the see of Rome; they prepared indeed a bill of indemnity, but they prepared also to disappoint it, by meeting it with a bill of pains and penalties against the delinquents of the late reign; they named a committee to examine into the miscarriages of last summer by sea and land; and declined still to make the Princess Sophia's

October 24.

* Journ. H. of Com. Oct. 24, 25, 26, 28.

succession

succeſſion a part of the bill of rights; although, to ſhew that this reluctance was not in compliment to the abdicated family, they afterwards agreed to a clauſe from the Lords that a papiſt ſhould be incapable of wearing the crown *. 1689.

The commons, after theſe meaſures, reſolved upon a ſupply of two millions, and upon the funds for raiſing it. But here they ſtopped; and, inſtead of carrying the reſolutions for ſupply, and for the funds, into bills, they proceeded to enquire into the faults of government, intending to make the bills themſelves the price of the King's compliance with national vengeance. Several things contributed to this. The whigs, by enquiring into the delinquencies of the two late reigns, and the tories into thoſe of the preſent reign, hoped to fix indelible ſtains upon each other. Many of the whig-party too joined the tories in expoſing late miſcarriages, either from love of the public, or from hatred of the Lords Halifax, Caermarthen, and Nottingham, the objects of their party's averſion, or in order to get other men removed from their places, that way might be made for themſelves. And numbers were drawn into both enquiries, from a curioſity and love of finding fault incident to human kind. The commons ordered a bill for the forfeiture of Lord Jefferys, although he was dead; and reſolved to charge his eſtate with £15,000 which he had extorted from Mr. Prideaux, when accuſed of acceſſion to the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, although it be a maxim of all laws, that the crime of the anceſtor cannot affect the heir, at the ſuit of a private party. They reſolved, that the executors of Sir Thomas Armſtrong ſhould have reparation out of the eſtates of his proſecutors and judges, though ſome of them were dead. An attack of the ſame kind came from a quarter from whence it was leſs expected. The houſe

Inquiries into offences in the late reigns.

* Journ. H. of Com. November 2, 7, 8, 9, 6.

of

PART II. BOOK IV.

1689.

of Lords, upon a motion made by the Duke of Bolton, named a committee to inquire * who were the adviſers and proſecutors in the murders (as they were called) of Lord Ruſſel, Mr. Sydney, and others executed for the Rye-houſe plot; who were the adviſers of *quo warrantos*, the regulators, and the public aſſertors of the diſpenſing power. Meſſengers were ſent to the commons, deſiring the attendance of ſeveral of their members to give information to the committee upon theſe ſubjects. The commons conſented. But the interpoſition of the court to prevent revenge from running to extremes, the forgiveneſs of thoſe who had been injured, the delicacy of the perſons whoſe attendance was aſked, and who were afraid of being accounted informers, were the cauſes why that information was not given which was wiſhed for. Beſides, the greater part of the peers was averſe from all inquiries into the tranſactions of the late reign: For, with a view to ſtop ſuch inquiries, they ordered the judges † to draw a bill for allowing the diſpenſing power in proper caſes; an order which admitted that ſuch a power exiſted; and they refuſed ‡ to declare, that the regulating of corporations was illegal.

From the faults of the late, the commons turned to thoſe of the preſent, government. The committee appointed to inquire into miſcarriages in the army and navy, were ſupported with votes to enable them to pry into the moſt minute articles of ſervice §.

* Journ. H. of Com. November 13.

† Journ. H. of Lords, November 22. ‡ Ibid. January 23.

§ By vote of the 8th November, the committee was empowered to inquire into the ſtate of the ſtores, the arrears due to ſoldiers and ſeamen, and the numbers of effective men in the regiments. By vote of 9th November, all who ſhould give information of abuſes in the victualling of the fleet, were aſſured of the protection of the houſe. By vote of 12th November, power was given to the committee to inquire into the prices and quality of the victuals for the ſeamen, and from whom the victuals were got.

When

When the inclination of the commons for receiving complaints was discovered, numbers were presented. The officers exclaimed, "That the army in Ireland had "wanted provisions, clothes, shoes, and medicines;" the seamen, "That they had been fed on victuals insuffer- "able to taste, and destructive of health." The merchants, in the great trading towns, complained: "The "seas were not guarded, their seamen were pressed to "excess, and the captains of the navy exacted convoy- "money for the little protection they gave:" And the merchants of London presented a petition to the commons, setting forth, "That, from want of convoys, "they had, in less than a year, lost 100 ships, worth "600,000*l.*" Informations and murmurs came from all quarters. And the nation stood aghast, each distrusting his neighbour, and all believing that treachery had insinuated itself into every department of service.

Some resolutions which were voted by the commons, partly from attention to national interest, but more from party-views, increased the public jealousies. They voted *, that the trade of the nation had been obstructed through want of convoys, and expelled † Captain Churchill, one of their members, for having taken convoy-money. He was brother to Lord Churchill, and the first of King James's officers who carried his ship to the Prince of Orange when he arrived in England. They committed the commissioners of the navy to prison ‡; and by this proceeding obliged the King to dismiss them. But all discontented persons directed their attacks chiefly against Mr. Shales;—a man who had been commissary-general of provisions to the late king's camp at Hounslow, who, by advice of the privy-council, had been sent in the same station to Ireland with the Duke of Schomberg, and

Attacks upon Commissary Shales.

* Journ. H. of Com. November 14. † Ibid. November 18.
‡ Ibid. November 23.

through

PART II. BOOK IV.

1689.

through whose sides, therefore, some hoped to wound the tory party, and others the ministers who had employed him. The commons began with an address * to send persons to Ireland to take an account of the numbers and condition of the army. Another soon followed †, to take Shales into custody, to place another in his room, and to seize his papers, although they knew that the King ‡ had done these things already. They concluded with a third, in which they prayed the king § to let the house know "by whose advice he had employed Shales." In framing the terms of this last address, the commons laid their complaints against Shales, more upon his disaffection than his covetousness, insinuating at the same time, that many as disaffected as he were in places of trust around the King. William, in answer to the last of these addresses, said verbally, "Gentlemen, it is impossible "for me to answer this question." But, in answer to the first, he sent a message, "That he would leave it to "themselves, to name not only the persons who should "go over to Ireland to examine the state of the army, "but also those who should overlook the preparations for "the ensuing service there:" A conduct which showed attention both to his own personal dignity, and to his people. The commons, returning the compliment to the King, left the nomination of the persons to himself, and presented an address of thanks for his condescension.

Nov. 11.
Nov. 23.
Nov. 28.

The King's impatience about his revenue.

But while individuals were thus indulging their public or private passions at leisure in parliament, the public interest was neglected; no money-bill had been even once read; and no public bill, except the bill of rights, had passed the commons, although the session had now lasted six weeks. The King, therefore, grew impatient. He ex-

* Journ. H. of Com. November 11. † Ibid. November 23.

‡ The King's warrant for seizing him was dated November 6. Vide Journ. House of Commons, November 27. § Ibid. November 28.

claimed with an openneſs and a heat not uſual to the cloſeneſs and phlegm of his temper *, "The public intereſt was loſt in the private paſſions of party. A King "without a revenue for life was no better than a pageant "of ſtate. The rulers of a republic might be poor, yet "honoured; but a Prince, to be reſpected, muſt be "rich. There were gradations in the qualities of go-"vernments; but the worſt of all was a monarchy de-"pendent for ſubſiſtence upon its ſubjects." Thoſe who were attached to the King's intereſt, took advantage, therefore, of the popularity they thought he had acquired by having committed the care of the Iriſh ſervice to parliament, and moved for a day to conſider how to raiſe the two millions which had been voted in the beginning of the ſeſſion; but, to their aſtoniſhment, they loſt the motion †, by a vote of 182 to 139. Mortifications thickened upon the King: Next day ‡, a bill was ordered for the continuance of the revenue only during a year: The bills for a land-tax of three ſhillings in the pound paſſed the houſes indeed; but the ſucceſs of them was owing to the tories: Soon after, the commons ſhewed ſo little delicacy to the King, that they appointed a committee to inquire into the application of his revenue.

Dec. 1.

Dec. 14.

The commons reſolve upon an addreſs of diſapprobation.

But the affront, by far the moſt hurting to the King's honour at home and abroad, was a reſolution of the commons for a ſolemn addreſs upon the general ſtate of the nation, "to lay before the King the miſcarriages in the "army and the fleet; to deſire him to find out the "authors of them; and to appoint his affairs to be ma-"naged by perſons unſuſpected, and more to his ſafety "and the ſatisfaction of his ſubjects." And the committee which was named to draw up this addreſs ‖, did

* Burnet. † Journals H. of Com. December 1.
‡ Ibid. December 2. ‖ Ibid. December 21.

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

it in terms the moſt injurious to the conduct of the throne, under pretence of enumerating the faults of its miniſters. The King then at laſt perceived to what point all the late inquiries into the details of the execution of ſervice had tended; and found, that he was brought into this dilemma, either to ſubmit to the ignominy of the addreſs to himſelf, and the danger of it to his miniſters, or to loſe all hopes of the ſupplies, which were ſtill unprovided for the public ſervice.

King relieved by the corporation-bill;

The hiſtory of a government which depends upon the management of parties, and of freemen, muſt be filled with reverſes of fortune, unforeſeen even by thoſe who loſe or gain by them. The King was relieved from the immediate diſtreſs of his ſituation, by a too open attempt of the whig party to ſecure that power for ever of which they were now poſſeſſed. A bill had been brought into the houſe of commons in the beginning of the ſeſſion, for reſtoring corporations to their original ſtate, before they had been modelled in the two late reigns. The whigs, conſcious that the greateſt ſhare of the property and intereſt of the kingdom lay in the hands of their antagoniſts, now brought a clauſe into this bill, to diſable for ſeven years all perſons to be electors in corporations, who had been anyhow acceſſary to the modelling of them: A clauſe which would have excluded almoſt all of the tory party from being members for boroughs during that period. The tory members ſaw the importance of the blow to themſelves and their families. They flew to pay that court to the King, which he was juſt ready to have paid to them; and promiſed to join the court in oppoſing the addreſs, and in promoting the ſupplies, if the court would join them in defeating the clauſe of the corporation-bill. The diſcontented whigs, on the other hand, made apologies for paſt diſreſpect, promiſed better behaviour for the future, and, in teſtimony of their ſincerity, offered

is courted by parties.

their

their immediate ſervice in the proceedings of parliament. The King, who a little time before had ſeen himſelf ſubject to one party, and the other to appearance alienated from him, now found himſelf maſter of both. The firſt mark which all parties gave of their ſubmiſſion was a general agreement to recommit the addreſs *; and it was heard of no more. They then revived † the bills for the taxes which had been voted in the beginning of the ſeſſion, and which had lain dormant and neglected ever ſince; ordered new ones ‡ for new taxes; and carried both on as faſt as the forms of the houſe would permit. And, in evidence of their loyalty, they committed one of their members to the Tower for declining to take the new oaths: A ſeverity which had not been hitherto exerciſed!

Dec. 31.

Diſſenſions revived in the royal family.

But the King's ſatisfaction was ſhort-lived. Lady Marlborough, who felt her own pride affronted in the diſappointment which the King had given laſt ſeſſion to the ſettlement of a revenue upon her miſtreſs, now reſumed her project, with the greater keenneſs, becauſe it was her own, and becauſe it had failed of ſucceſs. Beſides, ſhe hoped, by drawing down ſufferings upon the Princeſs and herſelf, to increaſe, by the firmeſt cement of friendſhip, ſociety in affliction, the ſtrength of a tenderneſs between them, which already reſembled more the paſſion of lovers than of friends. She irritated the Princeſs againſt the King and Queen by envy, by jealouſy, but chiefly by pride, derived from the dependence of her condition. She reminded her, "That by her the Prince "of Orange had been invited into England: Her huſ- "band ſhe had ſent to join his ſtandard when he arrived: "For him ſhe had fled from her father's palace: For "him ſhe had ſurrendered her children's rights and her

* Journ. H. of Com. Dec. 21.

† Ibid. Dec. 30. and 31.

‡ Ibid. Dec. 30. Jan. 1. Jan. 3.

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

" own: It was ſhe who had placed the crown upon his " head. And now, in return for all theſe favours, he " not only kept her in private in a miſerable dependence " upon himſelf for a revenue, but had affronted her in " public, by adjourning that parliament which felt her " wrongs, and was eager to redreſs them." She conveyed * to the ears of her miſtreſs ſome words which had once dropped from the King at the treaſury about her expences: A place which it was ſcarcely poſſible for him to enter, without being reminded of his wants. Irritated by ſuch expreſſions, the Princeſs became every day more alienated from her ſiſter and the King: And they, in return, either complained of her diſcontents, or treated them with a neglect that was ſtill more provoking. Theſe things, at firſt whiſpered through the court, were ſoon conveyed through the parliament and the nation; and the piques of women became the quarrels of parties, and of the public.

In this ſituation, Lady Marlborough's arts and violence got the Princeſs's revenue brought anew into the houſe of commons. Although all court the preſent ſovereign power, few chooſe to offend that in reverſion: Many even of the firmeſt friends to the King made their excuſes, that they could not in decency oppoſe the intereſt of the Queen's ſiſter: Apologies which intimated ſufficiently to the King what was thought decent in him. He ſent therefore the Earl of Shrewſbury, to offer the Princeſs a revenue of £ 50,000 a year, if ſhe would ſtop the interpoſition of parliament; and humbled himſelf ſo far as to deſire the Earl to make his application to Lady Marlborough before he went to her miſtreſs †. Lord Shrewſbury obeyed; and, among other arguments which he uſed with Lady Marlborough, having ſaid, " That if the King " kept not his word, he would ſerve him no longer,"

* Ducheſs of Marlborough. † Ibid.

ſhe

ſhe anſwered with imperiouſneſs, "That, my Lord, may "bind you; but what ſhall bind the King?" When he waited on the Princeſs, ſhe anſwered in terms more ſuited indeed to her dignity and the King's, but through which ſimilar diſtruſts were obſervable. The King ſaw the advantage which the Princeſs had over him, and oppoſed a parliamentary ſettlement no longer. To the commons, who addreſſed him to ſettle upon the Princeſs £ 50,000 a year out of his revenue †, though it could not ſupport himſelf, he anſwered with that grace which diſtinguiſhes the actions of the great from thoſe of the vulgar, when they are obliged to do a thing they diſlike; "Gentle- "men, whatſoever comes from the houſe of commons is "ſo agreeable to me, and particularly this addreſs, that "I will do what you deſire." Of thoſe who felicitated the Princeſs upon her ſucceſs, the loudeſt were the adherents of the late King, who wiſely conſidered, that the ſureſt road to his reſtoration was through a breach between his daughters: Congratulations, therefore, which might have ſhown her, that ſhe had no great reaſon to glory in the victory ſhe had obtained.

The Princeſs Anne gets her revenue ſettled. Dec. 30.

But now the time arrived, when William was reduced to the neceſſity of declaring himſelf in favour either of the whigs or of the tories, by the conduct he was to obſerve with regard to the corporation-bill: For the whigs in the houſe of commons had †, by a great majority, carried their clauſe excluding regulators from elections. The King heſitated greatly, conſcious that if the bill paſſed into a law, he ſhould continue for ever the ſlave of the whigs; and, if he diſappointed it, that he muſt break with thoſe who had placed him upon the throne, and truſt himſelf to a party which he dreaded, and which he ſuſpected dreaded him. That part of the whigs which had promoted the meaſures of the court, and that part which

The King's diſtreſs, whether to take ſide with the whigs or the tories.

* Journals H. of Com. Dec. 21, 30. † Ibid. Jan. 2.

had

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

had oppoſed them, forgetting their late ſeparation, joined in reminding him of paſt ſervices, and in warning him againſt future dangers. The tories, on the other hand, brought paſt and recent tranſactions to his view. "The whigs," they ſaid, "had oppoſed the pacific "King James; had murdered the virtuous Charles; "after that prince's death, had tried all forms of govern- "ment, and been contented with none; had tormented "the careleſs Charles II.; had attempted to exclude the "late King from the ſucceſſion, and had in the end de- "throned him. None of theſe actions flowed from a ſenſe "of freedom, but merely from a ſpirit of oppoſition to "royal power, in men, part of whom made the love of "liberty a cloak for their ambition, and the reſt of whom "knew not how to enjoy liberty: For none had ſhown "themſelves greater tyrants when in power, than that "whig-parliament which had overturned monarchy. "For theſe men, he had ventured his perſon and his "country. In return, they had given him a crown in- "deed, but reſerved the ſceptre to themſelves. They "refuſed that revenue to him whom they called their de- "liverer, which they had not ſcrupled to beſtow on one "whom they accounted their tyrant. They had urged "him into a war, only to make him dependent from his "neceſſities; and given him temporary aids, and thoſe "inſufficient, only to mark his ſubjection, and their "importance. Not contented with prying into all the "ſecrets of his government, and then expoſing them to "the world, they, who pretended to be its only friends, "had kept the door open for the abdicated family, by "oppoſing the admiſſion of the Hanoverian line to the "proſpect of the ſucceſſion. But the truth was, all "Kings were to them indifferent: By diſplacing one, "and attempting to keep another in fetters, they only "meant to pave the way for that republic to which they "and

Arguments of the tories.

1689.

" and their anceſtors had ever pointed. Even the Scotch, " once obedient to reigns which the whigs called tyran- " nical, they had rouſed, by their example, into oppoſi- " tion to the preſent reign of freedom. They had diſ- " covered equal jealouſy of his countrymen, their own, " and himſelf: For, inſtead of proceeding to the united " public ſervice of Holland and England, they had ſpent " their time in paſſing votes againſt their fellow-ſubjects, " in complaining of their allies, and in carrying their " inſults to the foot of the throne, under the pretence of " addreſſing it. Their views, though partial and nar- " row, were devouring and unbounded; ſeeing they " were not ſatisfied with excluding at preſent all other " parties from all power, unleſs they were alſo made ſe- " cure of poſſeſſing that power in all time to come: A " power which he ſhould not be the laſt to oppoſe, ſince " he muſt be the firſt to feel the weight of it. Yet, im- " potent to ſerve him, they had not been able to advance " that ſcheme of comprehenſion which he had eagerly " deſired, and which it was their own intereſt to have " accompliſhed. Ever ſince the diſputes between the " King and people ran high, the tories had ſupported the " intereſts of the crown, had reined the madneſs of the " multitude, and at one period had buried themſelves " under the ruins of the throne. To their late Sovereign " they had continued faithful as long as he was faithful " to himſelf or his people. Moſt of them had reſpected " the rights of the ſon, though friendleſs, and abſent, and " an infant, after thoſe of the father deſerved to be de- " fended no longer: But, to the voice of their country " at laſt they had yielded; and, when they did ſo, they " transferred their loyalty with their allegiance, and " would ſupport the throne on which that country had " placed him, becauſe it was the centre of the conſtitu- " tion, and the barrier againſt republican innovations.

" They

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

" They had concurred with the whigs in inviting him to " England: But they would not now concur with them, " in making him repent that he had accepted the invita- " tion. In their party were to be found, the ancient " families, the great landed intereſt, all the weight of the " church of England, which could make or unmake " Kings at its pleaſure. Placed at the head of the tories, " he might be the ſovereign of a people obedient and " lovers of order: But at the head of the whigs, he " could be no more than the leader of a party, whom " no King could ever govern, and no God could ever " pleaſe."

Arguments of the whigs.

The whig-party, on the other hand, remonſtrated to the King: " Every conſtitution had its own principles, " upon which it was founded, in the ſpirit of the people. " The principle of the Engliſh conſtitution was liberty. " Of this liberty the whigs had continually been the aſ- " ſertors. For her, they had dyed the fields of England " with their blood. The very ſcaffolds which they had " mounted ſo often for the ſake of the people, made them " ſecure that the people would for ever be upon their ſide " in return. It was not aſſociations of country land- " holders, nor the prayers of churchmen, which com- " manded the fates of free nations, but multitudes of free " ſubjects. The whole reign of Charles I. preſented one " continued proof, that the authority of the landed in- " tereſt and of the church, was weak againſt the force " of the people. The refuſal of the ſoldiers and ſeamen " to fight, together with the inſurrections in every coun- " ty, at the late revolution, made it manifeſt how much " the government of England depended on the many, and " how little on the few. And even, from the prevalency " of the whig-party in the preſent parliament, the power " and the inclination of the people might be gathered. " Poſſeſſed of the great cities, and the great companies

" all the monied intereſt lay in the hands of the whigs. " But in a commercial nation, and ſtill more, when that " nation was engaged in war, the monied was of equal " importance with the landed power: For, without the " aid of thoſe who were able immediately to make " advances upon the faith of government, no funds " could be raiſed: And, without funds, no war could " be ſupported; ſeeing wars were not conducted now as " in former times, by the vaſſals of Lords and Biſhops, " but by mercenary ſoldiers, fighting only for pay, and " no longer than they received it. It was the whig party " thus ſupported, which, at one period, had endeavoured, " by the bill of excluſion, to anticipate his elevation to " the throne, and, at another, had placed him upon it. " Their principles of the ſupreme juriſdiction of the peo- " ple were blended with his own title; and, unleſs he " made their principles prevalent in the nation, he muſt " himſelf paſs for an uſurper. The tories had, on the " contrary, long imbibed the principles of indefeaſible " hereditary right. For theſe, they had yielded to all the " idle theories of James the Firſt about prerogative; had " concurred in all the violences of the former part of the " reign of Charles the Firſt, and the latter part of his " ſucceſſor's, drawing down miſchiefs at both periods " upon that cauſe of royalty which they thought they " were ſerving; had ſubmitted to the tyranny of King " James; and would have done ſo ſtill, had he not in- " vaded the church. For theſe, part of them had en- " deavoured to ſave the right of James's ſon, only becauſe " they could not ſave his own; and the reſt ſtill adhered " to himſelf: For many of the peers and old gentry had " refuſed to take the new oaths; even the Biſhops whom " that Prince had perſecuted had acted the ſame part: " Great numbers of the clergy of the church of England " followed the example; and moſt of thoſe who complied,

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

" did it in a way which discovered that they preferred " their King to their God. Even the sufferings of the " tories in the cause of the abdicated family, during half " a century past, had attached them more firmly to it ; " because people naturally love those objects for which " they have been persecuted. But men changed not in " an instant the principles of their lives ; and, where they " seemed to do so, the very offer should create suspicion : " Sooner or later the tories would return to their former " principles ; because, after betraying a Prince whom " they loved, and pretending to serve one whom they " disliked, they could hope, by the success of a double " treachery alone, to make their own shame be forgot in " the nation's. The example of Scotland might teach " him what he was to expect from such new friends : For " those tories, who had hastened to London with offers of " their services, had gone back to their own country " with much greater haste to disappoint them. Would " he connect himself against those who were naturally " his friends, with those who were naturally his enemies, " and contribute to a disgrace which could not fail to " draw after it his own ? The whig party, by delaying " to give him a perpetual revenue, had contrived, by the " ties of a mutual dependence, to bind him and his peo- " ple faster together ; and every English monarch would " find, that the surest basis of his throne was his popu- " larity. Even if it was possible for the tories to be " faithful to an interest so opposite to their interest, a " tory King could be no more than the ruler of slaves, " whose very obedience must affront him ; but, at the " head of the whigs, he would find himself accounted " the father and friend of a free people, whose very dif- " ference in sentiment threw honour upon that sovereign " from whom they differed, because it marked candour " and spirit in the nation he commanded *."

* Appendix to this Book, No. II.

William,

1689.

William, preſſed by the ſenſe of recent affronts on one ſide, yet fearing the imputation of ingratitude and imprudence upon the other, ſenſible of his danger on all ſides, and irreſolute from what he ſaw and what he heard, once leaned, or pretended to lean, to the deſperate project of quitting England, retiring to Holland, and leaving the Queen to govern a people, whom he found himſelf unable to pleaſe or to manage. He communicated this project, with tears, to Lord Caermarthen, Lord Shrewſbury, and a few others, in hopes that from their own danger, or from tenderneſs to him, they might ſoften the mutual animoſities of the parties they conducted. With tears, ſuch as ſtateſmen ſhed, they diſſuaded him. Yet the rage of party ceaſed not; and each preſſed, as before, for a declaration of the royal ſentiments in its favour. Believing theſe tears to be real, or ſcorning them if he thought they were affected, William formed at laſt the reſolution of giving a preference to the tories, of calling a new parliament, of going over to Ireland, and of leaving the Queen to co-operate with that tory-party, which, though ſeemingly averſe from him, had been always favourable to the intereſts of her family.

The King propoſes to retire to Holland;

but in the end determines for the tories, and to command the army in Ireland.

The firſt ſymptoms of the effect of theſe reſolutions appeared in the fate of the amendments to the corporation-bill: The King having thrown the court-intereſt into that of the tories, the amendments, after ſeveral trying votes, in which the tories had generally a majority of above ten *, were rejected. All the force of parties was then exerted to procure the ſucceſs or the defeat of the bill of indemnity; and, in order that their ſtrength might be more fairly tried, when the objects of diſpute were united, the bills of indemnity, and of pains and penalties †, were ordered to be incorporated into one bill. The whigs moved, that the proceedings of the commit-

Struggle betwixt the whigs and tories in parliament, Jan. 10.

* Journ. houſe of commons, Jan. 10. † Ibid. Jan. 16.

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

tee upon it ſhould be by the nomination of particular perſons, but the tories over-ruled the motion * by a majority of 17; the numbers being 190 to 173. The tories † alſo diſappointed ſeveral attempts to get reparation for ſufferers in the reign of Charles the Second, out of the eſtates of their judges and proſecutors. Yet they gave way to the expulſion of Sir Robert Sawyer the late King's attorney-general, and to a vote which claſſed almoſt all the malverſations of the late reign under certain heads of exceptions from indemnity; unwilling, on the one hand, to undertake the unpopular taſk of defending the late King's meaſures; and, on the other, conſcious of the King's promiſe to grant an act of grace to thoſe who had been concerned in them.

A project to keep the King from going to Ireland.

In the mean time, a project was formed for an addreſs againſt his going to Ireland, by the whigs, in order to embarraſs him; by the malcontents to his title, leſt his preſence in Ireland ſhould cruſh that intereſt which in private they eſpouſed; and by both, under pretence that his health might be endangered in a climate in which his army had laſt ſummer periſhed. But, while this project was forming, and even at an hour when the commons were debating upon the incorporated bill of indemnity and pains, the King ſent for them to the houſe of Lords, and under pretence of applying himſelf to preparations for his expedition to Ireland, prorogued the parliament. A few days after, he diſſolved it. And he, and the majority of the commons, parted with mutual accuſations of ingratitude ‡.

Jan. 27. Diſappointed by his diſſolving the parliament.

The

* Journ. houſe of commons, Jan. 21.

† Ibid. Jan. 22. and 26.

‡ In the year 1739, the Bentinck family in Holland printed a few copies of a letter from King William to Lord Portland, dated at Kenſington 10-20th January 1690, in order to clear up ſome part of that Lord's conduct, with regard to Dutch affairs. Lord Elibank, whoſe lady was daughter to Mr. Elimut, high treaſurer of the United Provinces, and connected with

1689. Victory of the whigs.

The tories of the houſe of commons ſignalized their victory, according to a cuſtom frequent in England, by dining in a tavern together. From thence they ſent a verbal meſſage to the King by Sir John Lowther, a country gentleman of vaſt fortune; in which, among other compliments, they aſſured him that his ſupplies ſhould be ſpeedily and effectually given: A meſſage which was ſpread through the nation by the tories, to diſplay their loyalty, and by the whigs to point out the abuſe of it. Soon after the King removed many of the whigs from their places, and put tories in their ſtead. The moſt remarkable of the former were Lord Godolphin, Lord Delamere, Lord Mordaunt from the head of the treaſury, and Lord Torrington from that of the admiralty; the firſt, becauſe he was deemed too much attached to the

with the Bentinck family, was ſo obliging as to give me one of theſe printed copies. In the two following paſſages of this letter, written at different times of the day, there is a curious picture of the ſtate of the King's mind at that time.

" C'eſt aujourd'huy le grand jour a la Ch. Bas, ſur le Bill des Corpora-
" tions; a la fin de ma lettre je vous en manderes l'iſſue, puis que je vous
" eſcris a preſent avant midi: Je trouve que les gens commencent a eſtre
" fort en peine de mon voyage en Irlande, ſur tout les Wigs, qui ont peur
" de me perdre trop toſt avant qu'ils n'ayent fait avec moy ce qu'ils veu-
" lent; car pour leur amitie vous ſaves ce qu'il y a conter la deſſus en ce
" Pais ici; je n'ay encore rien dit de mon deſſein au Parlement, mais je
" crois de le faire la ſemaine prochaine; cependant je commence a faire
" preparer mon equipage, et tout le monde en parle publiquement: Il ſera
" neceſſaire que vous diſies a Mr. de Ginckel et autres officiers, qui doivent
" revenir ici avec ce que leur eſt neceſſaire de recrues tant d'hommes que
" de chevaux, s'ils en achetent en Hollande, de ce preparer a parti de la,
" au commencement de Fevrier vieu ſtile, puiſque certainement ils com-
" menceront de marcher d'ici au commencement de Mars. ——— Il eſt
" a preſent onze eures de nuit et a dix eures la Ch. Bas eſtoit encore en-
" ſemble; ainſi je ne vous puis ecrire par cette ordinaire l'iſſue de l'affaire.
" Les previos queſtions les toris l'ont emporte de cinq vois; ainſi vous pouvez
" juger que la choſe eſt bien diſputee; j'ay ſi grand ſommeil, et mon tous
" m'incommode, que je ne vous en ſourois dire d'advantage. Juſques a
" mourir a vous." Compare Clarendon's Diary, Jan. 10.

Princeſs

PART II. BOOK IV. 1689.

Princeſs of Denmark, the two next, becauſe they oppoſed the court without ceremony, and the laſt, chiefly with a view, by giving an object to the clamours of the nation againſt the conduct of the marine department, to take them off the King. Sir John Lowther, in return for the meſſage he had brought, was placed at the head of the treaſury, though he did not aſk, and for ſome time refuſed, the ſtation *. The Lieutenancy of London was directed to be put entirely into tory-hands, in order to ſhow, that the King truſted the ſafety of his own perſon, and of moſt of the wealth of the kingdom, to that party. Lord Cornbury's and the Duke of Ormond's regiments were taken from them, becauſe Lord Cornbury was in the Princeſs of Denmark's family, and both had acted with keenneſs as her friends. Lord Halifax loſt the privy ſeal, an event in which no party took an intereſt, becauſe he was ſteady to none. Lord Shrewſbury, irritated † by the diſgrace of his friends and of his party, threw up the ſeals. This alone hurt the King, becauſe he felt that he had drawn the breach of private friendſhip upon himſelf.

Thus, in the ſpace of little more than a year after William was upon the throne, he diſmiſſed that parliament, and broke with that party which had placed him upon it.

* Sir John Lowther's Manuſcript Memoirs in the hands of the Earl of Lonſdale.

† Clarendon's Diary, May 13, 1690. April 28, 29. June 3, 1690.

APPENDIX

TO

PART II. BOOK IV.

N° I.

Duke of Schomberg's Letters.

THE diſpatches of the Duke of Schomberg, in Ireland, to King William, are in the cabinet. I print the following ones, becauſe they paint in lively colours the ſtate of the army in that country, clear Schomberg of the imputation of inactivity, which has been unjuſtly thrown upon him, and do honour to the talents of a man who wrote with the elegant ſimplicity of Cæſar, and to whoſe reputation and conduct, next to thoſe of King William, the Engliſh nation owes the revolution.

Tranſlation.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Things not in order.

Heyleek, 9 of Aug. 1689.

I HAVE been forced to give five hundred muſkets to almoſt every regiment, both becauſe the new ſoldiers break them, and becauſe they are ill enough made, and very old, and becauſe perhaps Mr. Henry Shales, who had the inſpection of them, may have taken preſents to receive bad arms.

Tranſlation.

Part of Duke Schomberg's letter to King William.—The burden of every thing lies on him.

Carrickfergus, 27 Aug. 1689.

HITHERTO I have been obliged to take upon me all the burden of the proviſions, the veſſels, the artillery, the cavalry, all the payments, and all the detail of the attack of the place. If we came nearer the enemy, we ſhould have difficulty to furniſh officers for all theſe duties. The officers of artillery are ignorant, lazy, and timorous. I diſcover that in the artillery there has been a great deal of roguery: The bombs ill charged, the cannon ill caſt, the arms ill made, and many other things too long to tell your Majeſty; to which, I believe, Mr. Henry Shales has contributed much; for even the miners could not be got to fix themſelves to the walls: An officer and four French ſoldiers did it, and ſucceeded: Three of them were wounded by our own people.

Tranſlation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—State of the two armies.

27th September.

THIS collection of people (the Iriſh army) have ſtill ſome cattle to live upon, and burn the ſtraw in which the grain is, by which it becomes hard, and corn is made of it, and then they make it into bread, according to the cuſtom of the country. Our wants hitherto are in clothes and ſhoes, which I believe contri-

butes as much to the maladies among the ſoldiers as the new beer, of which there is indeed but little, owing greatly to the little care which their colonels take, although I often ſpeak to them of it.

So far as I can judge from the ſtate of the enemy, and King James's having collected here all the force that he could in this kingdom, he wants to come to a battle before the troops ſeparate, on account of the bad ſeaſon, which will ſoon begin: For this reaſon, it appears to me that we ſhould lie here upon the defenſive, if your Majeſty approves of it, ſince there are troops to arrive from Scotland and Denmark; and the ſame reaſon which hinders the enemy from forcing me to a battle, ſince they can only come to me by two or three great roads, the reſt being cut with bogs, hinders me from going to them, who have beſides a little river and ſome mountains before them.

Tranſlation.

Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William.— Reaſons for his not fighting.

Dundalk, 3d October 1689.

IF I had nothing but infantry with me, the enemy could not force me from hence; but in a few days I ſhall be obliged to ſend the greateſt part of my cavalry, which is not numerous, into the county of Down, from whence, in two days, I can always bring them here; and as there is a ford above Carlingford, I can have them even in leſs time. The horſes, by the cover which they will find there, will be better preſerved than here: Beſides, the officers take little care of them here, allowing their troopers to go at full gallop, and knowing nothing of the way of foraging or of making truſſes. This has been the

occaſion of our never having had proviſions for above two days.

With regard to our marching to the enemy, that could not be done hitherto, as we had not a ſingle cart to carry proviſions; and as for the roads, all the people of the country can tell your Majeſty, that we ſhould be obliged to defile through a great road, with bogs to right and left: Such a country was never ſeen. And as for going to Navan, which your Majeſty will ſee in the map, we ſhould be obliged to make a great tour; and the enemy, in two ſhort days march, would be there before us. By the left we can march only along the ſea; but the enemy would have nothing to do but to come down along the river to ſtop our paſſage.

Your Majeſty intimates that you are ſending ſome troops from Scotland: Whilſt theſe are on their way, perhaps thoſe from Denmark may come too. In that caſe, there would be leſs hazard in giving battle; and the war would be finiſhed with leſs riſk. This perhaps is not the opinion of the committee for Iriſh affairs, nor of ſome perſons in London, who believe that one has only to give battle to win it.

Mr. Harbord has engaged to ſend your Majeſty a review of the army which I made two days ago: By that it will appear more numerous than it is, the colonels being very able at making up muſters.

Tranſlation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Reaſons for not advancing.

Dundalk, 6th October 1689.

YOUR Majeſty will ſee by the memorial of my hand-writing of the 4th, the reaſons which made me think of marching to the river of Shannon. It will perhaps be the beſt thing that can be done, except ſeeking the enemy and giving them battle: For it appears to me, that your Majeſty is of opinion that we ſhould puſh them before this army periſhes by diſeaſes, or the ſuccours arrive which the enemy expect from France. I ſhould deſire much to do the things which your Majeſty is ſo eager for, and I would have marched to-morrow; but as your Majeſty will ſee by the opinion of the general-officers, that all the army is without ſhoes, and that it could not march two days without half of them being barefooted, it is neceſſary to wait till ſhoes come from England, where Mr. Harbord has ſent for them. This has made us loſe the occaſion of marching upon the right towards the river of Shannon, while the enemy are removing from us. I ſpeak not of the other difficulties which it will be neceſſary to ſurmount the beſt that we can. I mentioned them in my memorial. They are, That the proviſion waggons are not all arrived, the horſes of thoſe which are, are in a very bad ſtate. Shales ſays, that he was obliged to make uſe of them at Cheſter, becauſe he could not find any to hire. I have already ſaid, that he did not even take care to embark one hundred and twenty artillery horſes, which are ſtill left there.

Tranſlation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Cannot comply with the King's deſire that he ſhould fight.

Dundalk, 8th October 1689.

WHEN I read over again your Majeſty's two laſt letters of the 2d and 6th October, I find you have a deſire that the enemy ſhould be puſhed. I have already wrote that that was difficult to do in a country where one cannot go to them but by two or three great roads, the reſt being divided by bogs and mountains. But there are ſtill other circumſtances to be repreſented to your Majeſty; to wit, that I am uneaſy to venture your army againſt one which is, as all the world here knows, at leaſt double the number of ours; of which a part is diſciplined, and pretty well armed, and hitherto better nouriſhed with bread, meat, and beer, than ours. But what is ſtill more uneaſy is, that the colonels who have lately raiſed their regiments, and particularly the Iriſh lords, thought of nothing but to have boys at a cheap rate. I foreſaw this when their commiſſions were given them, and I ſpoke of it to your Majeſty at the meeting of the committee for Iriſh affairs; but Lord Halifax's advice was rather followed than mine. I do not ſpeak of ſhoes, having mentioned them in all my memorials. But if the want of capacity of the officers is great, their want of application and their lazineſs is ſtill greater. Although the cavalry are not ſo lately raiſed, the officers, however, take no care of the horſes of their troopers; and all are ſo accuſtomed to lodge in inns wherever they march, that the preſent kind of war aſtoniſhes them. I am vexed to importune your Majeſty with all theſe details; but I think it is my duty to inform you of them, that you may ſee the reaſons why I am unwilling to reſolve to decide all by a battle.

I hope

I hope every minute, that the reſt of our artillery horſes and proviſions, and the Scotch troops, will arrive; and that the ſhoes which were bought above two months ago will be found again. Without enhancing my ſervices, or bringing into the account the chagrins which I have ſuffered, it is not without difficulty that I have come thus far, and continued here almoſt without bread. It would have been very difficult to advance without any waggons or proviſions; and as there was a rivulet between the enemy and us, I might perhaps have been obliged to fall back, which would have had bad conſequences.

Tranſlation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—To the ſame purpoſe. Preſſes for a diverſion by the fleet upon the coaſt.

12th October.

I SEE by your Majeſty's letter, you are informed we have a greater number of ſick in this army than we have, and that to prevent our having more, we ought to puſh matters as much as we can, in hazarding ſomething. If your Majeſty was well informed of the ſtate of our army, and that of our enemy, the nature of the country, and the ſituation of the two camps, I do not believe you would incline to riſk an attack. If we did not ſucceed, your Majeſty's army would be loſt without reſource. I make uſe of that term; for I do not believe, if it was once put into diſorder, that it could be re-eſtabliſhed. Nothing can give your Majeſty a clearer idea of all this, than the remembrance of the nature of all new-raiſed troops, of which this army is generally compoſed.

I ſee alſo by the ſame letter from your Majeſty, that unleſs ſomething is riſked now, the war will draw out to length. I am ſorry it is not in my power to find expe-

dients

dients to finish it. There is reason to fear, that if we had hazarded all for all, and had not succeeded, the enemy would have been immediately masters of all Ireland. I do not understand why so great an English and Dutch fleet, which has done nothing all summer, should not be able at least to guard the coasts of Ireland, and to make a diversion in it by a disembarkation, as your Majesty always projected, and thereby give us time to wait for the Danish troops, so that we may make use of all our forces: But these troops would have been of little use, if we had lost a battle before their arrival. As to this post which your Majesty speaks of, I can keep it with the infantry alone, till Shales has put his waggons for the provisions into better order, as also the artillery horses, which he is in the use of telling me are arrived.

I must tell your Majesty, that if our Irish colonels were as able in war as they are to send to pillage the country, and not to pay the soldiers, your Majesty would be better served by them. You may be informed by others, that the three regiments of French cavalry, and their regiment of cavalry, do their duty better than others. I have worked all this week, to regulate what the captains should give to their soldiers, to prevent their cheating the men. The colonels take so little care of their regiments, that the half of the pikes are broke, and also of the fusees and muskets; so that I am at present forced to give them others from amongst those which I brought with me.

If leave of absence was given to as many officers as ask it, a great part of the army would be without officers; the greatest part affecting to be out of order, or under diseases, which have no other foundation than in their weariness at being here.

Having communicated to Count Solms a thought which I had, to send the greatest part of our cavalry on the side of Ardmagh, he has found an argument which is considerable,

conſiderable, viz. that the enemy may put themſelves between it and us, and that it would be better to wait ſome days, giving oats from the veſſels to the cavalry, to ſee if the enemy will not march from Atherdee to Droghead; or that perhaps in waiting a little, ſome of the Daniſh troops may arrive; and that in the mean time, ſhoes and better clothes may be providing for the ſoldiers. In all this I believe an abler man would be much embarraſſed; for the enemy are not only ſtrong in number, but alſo well diſciplined, and the ſituation of their camps as well choſen as the ableſt generals could contrive.

Tranſlation.

Part of the Duke of Schomberg's letter to King William.—The Scotch troops arrived.—Yet it is impoſſible to advance.—Schomberg's unhappineſs.

Dundalk, 4th Nov. 1689.

THE troops arrived from Scotland conſiſt of four regiments, of which the horſes are extremely fatigued. That of Haſtings has not three hundred ſoldiers. Though we could march with theſe troops, the country is of ſuch a form that an enemy cannot be forced to battle againſt his will. I wiſh your Majeſty would ſpeak to a man who knows the country hereabouts well. It is not leſs difficult than Flanders for forcing an enemy to a battle. As long as there is not an eſtabliſhment made with people at certain prices for furniſhing ammunition bread, as is done in France, Flanders, and elſewhere, it will not be poſſible to ſuſtain this war, whenever we remove from the ſea. This is the principal article. I will ſay nothing of the other deficiences of this army. I have given myſelf much pain and fatigue to remedy them. The thing is not eaſy with ſuch officers. And there is nothing but the paſſion, the

the obligations, and the perfect devotion which I have for your Majesty, that could make me bear the chagrins and pains which I have suffered.

Translation.

Part of the Duke of Schomberg's letter to King William.— Bad arrangement in every department.

Lisborne, 26th December 1689.

THE Irish colonels have more inclination for the people of their own country, not because they know them to be more brave upon an occasion, but to draw the greater profit from the regiments. We have seen by experience, that towards the month of September the Irish all deserted.

The regiments of Lisborne, Sankey, Roscommon, Drogheda, and Bellasis, are very weak. I have been obliged to withdraw these two last from Ardmach, there not being three hundred men in the two.

With regard to the cavalry, we have examined their state in presence of Messieurs Scravemore, Lanier, and Kirck, and made an establishment, and likewise in the manner of their recruiting. The officers take no care of their troopers, or of obliging them to attend to their horses, which they are not at the pains even to blood.

I have also to tell your Majesty, that the negligence of the officers is the cause why the soldiers have lost many of their arms, notwithstanding the regulation I made, that the captains should replace them at their own expence: And their negligence has been so great, that they are come into this kingdom without a tent with them, and make use of those which were given them for their soldiers. The great rains have rotted the tents: It is necessary that others be sent.

As I never was in an army where there are ſo many new and lazy officers, your Majeſty will have no difficulty to believe that this gives me much trouble and chagrin. If all were broke who deſerved it on this account, there would be few left.

Mr. Harbord is gone without leaving us money to pay the troops. I hope that he will ſend it from Cheſter, as he writes from Heyleek he will do: But he has left us in great confuſion. With regard to the officers, he has paid them no arrears. On this account they excuſe themſelves, that they have no money for their ſubſiſtence, or the relief of the ſoldiers. I at leaſt ſpare your Majeſty's money, as you will ſee by the bill of contingencies. But Mr. Harbord, in the general expences, makes a difficulty to part with money which is juſtly due;—a delay which muſt bring on confuſion. Since he is gone, I have made a difficulty to ſign the commiſſaries payments, he as well as I having diſcovered that theſe commiſſaries are agents to all the Engliſh regiments of this army, by which they put themſelves in the intereſt of the colonels. Never were ſo many people ſeen ſo deſirous of ſtealing. As for Mr. Harbord's company, I never ſaw any part of it but the ſtandard in his chamber. They ſay that his officers ſerve him in the qualities of ſecretary and commiſſary. I find that Harbord has not well examined Major General Kirk's accompts, or that he has not dared to finiſh them, as I learn that Kirk did not bring with him his diſcharges for the payment of the regiments which he had with him.

Tranſlation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William. — He falls ill.— His indignation at the complaints from England againſt him.

Liſborne, 27th December 1689.

WITHOUT the profound ſubmiſſion which I have for your Majeſty's will, I would prefer the honour of being permitted to be near your perſon to the command of an army in Ireland compoſed as that of laſt campaign was. And if I had riſked a battle (which was difficult to do if the enemy inclined to keep in their camp), I might perhaps have loſt all that you have in this kingdom, not to ſpeak of the conſequences which would have followed in Scotland, and even to England. Finding myſelf in ſuch a ſtate, aſſiſted by very few perſons, charged with an infinity of details, which occupied me, while other generals attend only to the important part of the war: I ſay, Sir, that there is nothing but my devotion for your Majeſty's commands, which obliges me to ſacrifice the health I have left to your ſervice. I wiſh only that this ailment may not hinder me to act as I wiſh. Whilſt I was able, I took the charge of every thing upon me, not being much relieved by the Engliſh or Scotch general-officers.

Beſides, what ſhocks one the moſt in this employment, is, that I ſee by the paſt, it will be difficult for the future to content the parliament and the people, who have a prejudice that an Engliſh new-raiſed ſoldier can beat above ſix of his enemies. People are in the wrong to envy me this employment for the profits which I draw from it. I have not as yet fallen upon that invention; and though I ſhould diſcover it, I ſhould not practiſe it, being contented

tented with the appointments which are given me, and becauſe people ſee well here that I ſpend the double of them.

Tranſlation.

Part of a letter from the Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Condition of the army in winter.

Liſborne, 30th December 1689.

YOUR Majeſty will find by the muſter-rolls that we are ſtronger than we really are. I believe, if your Majeſty would drive away all the commiſſaries of muſters, it would be better. The officers for money do with them what they pleaſe. It would be better to make uſe of the Dutch method, which is to oblige the captains to have their companies complete on the firſt of May, and to chaſtiſe thoſe who fail.

Tranſlation.

Part of a letter from Duke Schomberg to King William.—Things continue in a bad ſtate.

Liſborne, 9th January 1689.

I PRESSED Captain St. Sauveur to leave this, that your Majeſty may be informed of the embarraſſment I am under, by Mr. Harbord's leaving us without money. He played me two or three of the ſame tricks at Dundalk. When affairs go ill, he makes his eſcape. He took fright that he ſhould fall ill. He uſed as a pretence for going to Belfaſt, that he was to take care the ſick ſhould want nothing. Eight days after, I learned that he was gone to á fine houſe to breathe a good air, without having ſent even one of his people to Belfaſt to get a ſtate of the hoſpital. I am not aſſiſted here by any body. I do

not know if he will ſerve your Majeſty well: He is a man who looks too much to his own intereſt.

There are two or three regiments of French infantry, who have only ſubſiſtence-money, not to mention 1000 *l.* due to each of them for the arrears of the officers. As the ſoldier cannot buy any thing in the market, this reduces him to famine, and makes many of them fall ill. The colonels have not neglected to ſend the officers to Swiſſerland for recruits; but they ought to have had ſome of the money that is due to them. They have written to Mr. Le Stang to receive your Majeſty's orders upon this article; for as to Mr. Harbord, he never brings things to an end, when the queſtion is to pay the troops, as I told your Majeſty; to which I am obliged to add, that what made us want medicines laſt campaign was, that Mr. Harbord would not give money to the apothecary, Augebaut, though I ſpoke often to him of it, and ſent to him. There are other complaints of him here, which would be too long. His avarice has appeared too much, particularly in his not having paid the officers' arrears, which cauſes a great confuſion here.

The Engliſh nation is ſo delicately bred, that as ſoon as they are out of their own country, they die the firſt campaign, in all the foreign countries where I have ſeen them ſerve.

Tranſlation.

Duke of Schomberg to King William.—Want of money.

Liſburne, 3d March 1690.

BY my laſt memorials, your Majeſty ſees what I told you of the want of money. Neceſſity obliges me to repreſent to you again, that I ſee with regret that the troops, in place of recovering, are ruined for want of money,

money, and that when your Majeſty comes here, you will not have the ſatisfaction of ſeeing them re-eſtabliſhed as I would wiſh. The letters from London being come yeſterday through Scotland, I ſee nothing in mine which can make me hope for money ſoon; and having aſked one of Mr. Harbord's treaſurers, if Mr. Harbord had not wrote him that there was money ſent to Cheſter, he told me he had not. If Mr. Harbord does not give money to recruit the cavalry and the infantry, it is to be feared that the troops will not be in a good condition: For the ſmall ſums which we draw from the cuſtomhouſes from time to time, are not ſufficient to give the ſoldiers. The captains and the ſubaltern officers take it to themſelves, being obliged to live upon it, ſince they have received no pay for ſeven months. And if their arrears are not paid them ſoon, they will not have time to buy cart or bas horſes for the campaign.

Your Majeſty cannot truſt to the pikes: They were very old, and became more rotten during the rains of laſt campaign. As for the Inniſkilling troops, they cannot uſe theirs at all; and they ſay as much of their muſkets.

N° II.

Intrigues of the Whigs and Tories with the King.

In the Cabinet there are two letters to the King concerning the diſſolution of the firſt parliament; one on the tory and the other on the whig ſide. The firſt is in the hand writing of Sir John Trevor; there is reaſon to believe the other was written by Mr. Wharton, afterwards Marquis of Wharton.

THE matter wherein your Majeſty hath been pleaſed to command my weak opinion, doth in my apprehenſion conſiſt of two points. Firſt, whether it be moſt for your Majeſty's intereſt to hold on this parliament; and if ſo, to what purpoſes? Secondly, If your Majeſty, in your great wiſdom, ſhall think it neceſſary to diſſolve this parliament, then what ways and methods are to be taken to get a good parliament, and to make it uſeful to your eſtabliſhment? &c.

As to the firſt part of the firſt queſtion, whether it be moſt for your Majeſty's intereſt to hold on this parliament? I am with all humble ſubmiſſion of opinion, that your Majeſty's beſt courſe is to hold on this parliament for a time, and to try them for a ſpeedy and certain ſupply, that may anſwer and defray the charge of the government, during ſuch time as will be neceſſary to call and prepare for a new parliament, which will take up ſeven weeks at leaſt.

The continuance of this parliament can be of no other uſe to your Majeſty but to gain ſuch a ſupply; for all other benefits and expectations from this parliament are loſt and gone: The authority of the chair, the awe and reverence to order, and the due method of debates being irrecoverably loſt by the diſorder and tumultuouſneſs of the Houſe; the managers having ſmall credit, the rancour and rage between the oppoſite factions being irreconcilable, the nation in general grown weary of them, and

and expecting a new parliament. The Diſſenters being now under ſome apprehenſions of your Majeſty, and your Majeſty having undeniable reaſons and proofs to ſuſpect and diſtruſt them, the confidence on both ſides is grown leſs: The Church party diſcouraged and almoſt in deſpair; they will never agree to unite your ſubjects by an Act of Indemnity; but they may agree to tear away your miniſters, which is a ſafe method (under colour of redreſſing grievances) to arraign and expoſe your government to your people and the world, which methods have heretofore produced very dangerous conſequences, eſpecially in the beginning of a new reign; all which miſchiefs a new parliament will diſappoint, heal, and mend; and lay a ſurer foundation for your Majeſty's happineſs than can be expected from this preſent parliament: Therefore I do humbly conclude, that the ſitting on of this parliament can be of no other good uſe to your Majeſty (but quite contrary) unleſs to grant to your Majeſty a ſpeedy and certain ſupply.

To gain ſuch a ſupply will be the next conſideration. The ſupply demanded muſt be tenderly handled; it muſt be reaſonable and proportionable to ſuch preſent uſe and occaſion as your Majeſty ſhall declare you have for ſuch ſupply, otherwiſe it will give the Diſſenters a jealouſy; and your Majeſty to amuſe them had better aſk leſs than too much, and thereby leave them ſome confidence, that you ſtill depend upon them.

Such ſupply muſt be alſo certain, and be made a fund for credit, and not uncertain or unuſual; for ſuch projects will take up much time in debates, more time in drawing and framing a bill (wherein your council are not very ſkilful), and may meet with captious obſtructions in paſſing both Houſes, which waſte of time is (I humbly conceive) inconſiſtent with your Majeſty's preſſing occaſions; for by ſuch loſs of time your Majeſty will become more neceſſitous, and the Diſſenters will probably take advantage

vantage thereof, and will grow into ſuch power (wherein they are indefatigable, and never to be ſatisfied) that I fear it will be very difficult for your Majeſty to extricate yourſelf out of their hands, &c.

The ſupply follows next to be conſidered of. I humbly propoſe for the quantity and quality of ſuch a ſupply, a concurrent aſſeſſment for ſix months, after the rate of ſeventy thouſand pounds a month, which with your Majeſty's growing revenue, may (I hope) be ſufficient to anſwer the charge of the government during the interval of parliament.

The way to effect this ſupply, is to order your managers to conſider the abſolute neceſſity your Majeſty lies under to ſupport the government and them; and to preſs them hard in it; wherein great care muſt be taken, not to give them any new ſuſpicion of imagining your Majeſty to part with this parliament, which they know is to part with themſelves; and to that purpoſe your Majeſty may intimate to them, that at the higheſt computation, the Two Shillings bill will not exceed twelve hundred thouſand pounds. That very near two-thirds thereof is already appropriated. That your Majeſty cannot have credit upon the remainder thereof till the laſt quarter, which will not be till nine months hence. That there remains due to your Majeſty (according to this computation) eight hundred thouſand pounds, to make up the two millions promiſed to your Majeſty, whereof this ſix months aſſeſſment will anſwer four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds, and your Majeſty may bid them take their own time, and let them employ themſelves to find out new methods and ways for the raiſing the other remaining four hundred thouſand pounds, which your Majeſty muſt alſo earneſtly inſiſt to be carried on and diſpatcht, the better to cover your intentions. I conceive that ſuch an aſſeſſment may go eaſily in the Houſe, if the managers will eſpouſe

eſpouſe it heartily, this calculation having already been opened to the Houſe, and the ſix months aſſeſſment having been likewiſe moved for by Mr. Foley and Sir Lewſon Gore, and there are very cogent reaſons to be given for this preſent ſupply, more proper for the managers to give, as having more of your Majeſty's urgent neceſſities in their knowledge than any other, and indeed this muſt be wholly managed by them to avoid jealouſy; and the church party to make a faint oppoſition. This ſupply may be begun on Wedneſday next, or if the call of the Houſe ſhould be inſiſted on, then the Wedneſday after, and may be finiſhed in a week. But if your Majeſty cannot prevail for ſuch a ſpeedy and certain ſupply, your Majeſty, in my poor judgment, will hazard much by the continuance of the parliament, and loſe that time in this (without any ſufficient ſupply) which would be better beſtowed on calling a new parliament, which, under God, I conceive to be the only means to anſwer all your ends, and to ſupport and ſecure your throne and royal authority, and to reconcile and unite your divided and diſtracted ſubjects. If your Majeſty ſhould be unſucceſsful in this aſſeſſment, which I hope you will not, I could wiſh your Majeſty had a clauſe of credit by a ſhort bill upon the exciſe, which was very ſtrangely neglected, when the revenue bill was paſſing, for I took it for granted that ſuch a clauſe was to be; for both Mr. Garraway and Sir Robert Howard declared it: But I am afraid that the opinion remains ſtill with ſome people, that they are not ſafe in their power and greatneſs, unleſs your Majeſty depend upon them. But had a bill of aſſeſſment paſſed inſtead of the Two Shilling bill, your Majeſty had been above all theſe difficulties, and out of the hands of theſe men; and it is plain that this opinion has obſtructed your Majeſty's eſtabliſhment, &c. But ſuppoſe (which God forbid) that the Houſe ſhould neglect or delay this ſo reaſonable and neceſſary a ſupply,

If your Majeſty ſucceeds, the clauſe for credit on the exciſe may eaſily and properly be inſerted in the ſupply bill.

and ſpend their time in ſpecious and frivolous enquiries into projects and methods to raiſe money, under pretence of ſaving their land, and fall into heats, and run upon your miniſters for miſmanagement (the Lords having provided ſome materials for them), and leave your Majeſty's Engliſh army unpaid (which occaſions great clamours and heart-burning), and the Iriſh affairs in a languiſhing condition, which muſt cauſe great confuſion in your Majeſty's affairs at home, and diſcredit abroad, and will encourage your enemies: What is then to be done? I do with all humble ſubmiſſion to your Majeſty's great wiſdom and experience, and with the deepeſt ſincerity of my ſoul conceive, that your Majeſty has no other courſe nor remedy under heaven, unleſs you will abſolutely throw yourſelf and your Crown upon the Diſſenters, but immediately as ſoon as your Majeſty has made this laſt tryal in all gentle manner, without farther loſs of time to diſſolve this and call a new parliament; and in order thereunto, to take the firſt meaſures to maintain and keep the peace of the kingdom, and to provide for the ſubſiſtance of the government during the interval of parliament, and to make ſuch other preparations for that meeting, by proclamations, removals, and other wiſe methods, whereby the Church party may be ſo encouraged, and yet the Diſſenters be aſſured of their indulgence and your favour. But ſuch a ſcheme muſt firſt attend your Majeſty's reſolution in that point, and then my humble thoughts how ſuch an alteration may be beſt brought about and effected, ſhall be ready in two or three days time for your Majeſty's peruſal. Humbly craving your Majeſty's gracious and favourable conſtruction of my great weakneſs, but good intentions, herein diſcloſed.

Anonymous letter to King William, believed to be written by Mr. (afterwards Marquis of) Wharton.—Reproaches of the King's ingratitude to the Whigs.

SIR, 25 December, 1689.

BEING a Proteſtant, a true Engliſhman, and one that wiſhes to ſee your Majeſty happy and glorious, as a reward for the protection you gave to our religion and laws, in driving out a tyrant who endeavoured to deſtroy both, I think it my duty to lay before you the deſperate condition you are brought into, by the flatterers, knaves, and villains, you have the misfortune to employ.

You will forgive my ſpeaking plainly, ſince both your own ſtate and the nation's require it; for if you do not, without delay, wholly change your conduct, you are inevitably loſt and undone.

Many thouſands of your ableſt ſeamen, are either dead, or taken priſoners, and the reſt ſo enraged by their ill uſage, that it will be difficult to perſwade them to ſerve you next yeare.

Your army, your very guards, laſt raiſed, are much diſaffected, and will help to ruin you on the firſt occaſion.

That parliament, which ſett the crowne uppon your head, is grown cold, and alienated in their affections from you.

Scotland is ſo farr diſcontented, that you muſt expect a warr thence next yeare.

You have loſt the hearts of a great part of your people.

You have an expenſive and dangerous warr upon your hands, and no revenue ſettled, nor money to carry it on.

And what is yet worſe, your court and your councils are filled and guided by ſuch men as moſt of all ſeek your ruin.

Theſe ſad truths need no further demonſtration: They are viſible to the whole world; and I wiſh it were as eaſy to propoſe a remedy as to know the diſeaſe.

It would be an endleſs worke to lay before you all the particular miſſcarriages and miſsfortunes; yet will I mark out ſome of the principall, which ſeeme to have cauſed ſuch a change in your affaires.

Firſt, gathering together King James's army, which was diſperſed, and refuſing the ſervice of thoſe honeſt men, who came to you merely out of principles and affection. Theſe would have been true to you, and might by this time have made as good, if not better troups than the others, who knew nothing but living diſſolutely, and were hated over the nation: Your good fortune, not their love, made thoſe old troops come in to you; and whenever that ſinks, they will be as ready to forſake you. Thoſe were not your friends for your cauſe, but their own intereſt, ſeeing they had not a head would lead them againſt you, and that the whole people were for you. If any of them were diſcontented before, it happened from private reaſons, either that their ambition was not anſwered, or that they were like to be layd aſide. In ſhort, they are corrupted in their principles: Nothing can make them faithfull to you; and thoſe that remain of the old gang, will infect what new men may be added to them.

In the next place, that many of King James's friends, and others, knowne enemies to the laws and government of England, were receaved into your councils, and promoted to places of greateſt truſt.

This was thought a fatality upon your Majeſty, that you ſhould pick out the moſt obnoxious men of all England for your miniſters, when the declaration you publiſhed at your coming over was principally againſt evill miniſters, and that you made maleadminiſtration the chief ground

ground to juſtify your taking arms. There is ſcarce one word againſt King James in your declarations: The evill miniſters are alone complained of, yet King James alone is puniſhed; and the ſame evil miniſters, or worſe, are employed, when you might have found honeſt men to have ſerved you in all places.

This hath been of unſpeakable prejudice to you; for it is viſible to all men, and the meaneſt people reaſone uppon it, that we muſt expect the ſame councills, and the ſame government, from the ſame men. If you did not come over to ſupporte our relligion, and repaire the breaches that were made in our lawes and conſtitution, what can you urge but force to juſtifye what you have done, which would deſtroy the glory of your enterprize? Wee have made you King, as the greateſt returne we could make for ſo great a bleſſing, taking this to be your deſigne; and if you intend to governe like an honeſt man, what occaſion can you have for knaves to ſerve you? Can the ſame men who contrived and wrought our ruin, be fitt inſtruments for our ſalvations? or with what honor can you employ thoſe againſt whom you drew your ſword?

The pretence of their being experienced is very weak: Their experience was only in doing ill; and our lawes having ſufficiently chalked out the functions of all civil miniſters att home, plain honeſt men of good underſtand- and principles, ſuitable to the ends you declared you came hither for, might have performed theſe duties, eſpecially ſince your Majeſty's great wiſdom can well ſupply their defects in foreign affairs.

We have the charity to believe that this one falſe ſtep hath occaſioned all the reſt, and that (miſtaking your men) you have been miſled in your meaſures. We are willing to lay all faults at their doores, if your Majeſty will not protect them, and take all upon yourſelf. This

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is a rock we hope you will avoid; for it hath been fatall to ſeveral Kings of England.

What or who but ſuch men could have made your Majeſty ſuſpected to your people? Thoſe who would twelve months ſince have poured out their hearts blood to ſerve you, have ſacrificed their fortunes and all the hopes of their families for your ſake, do now grudge every penny that is given for the neceſſary defence of your government, and repent their too forward zeal for a man who deſpiſes his beſt and only true friends, and miſtakes the right way to advance both his own and his people's intereſt and glory.

They ſtand amazed to ſee that your Majeſty, who came in upon one principle, ſhould for the moſt part employ men who have ever profeſſed another; that the glorious Prince of Orange, who had rendered himſelf ſo renowned in the world, for his ſteadineſs to truth, juſtice, the laws and liberty of his country, and the Proteſtant religion, ſhould, when he became a King, think himſelf leſs obliged to purſue thoſe great and noble ends. The world was filled with your fame when you landed in England: Your friends adored you, and your enemies melted before you: There was nothing wanting to declare you, in the opinion of all mankind, to be the greateſt and moſt glorious prince that had appeared for many ages, but your own reſolution to give a finiſhing ſtroke to that deſerved character. IN THIS YOU FAILED, AND FELL FROM A HEIGHT WHICH VERY FEW MEN EVER REACHED BEFORE YOU.

I will ſay no more on this ſad ſubject, nor accuſe or name particular perſons, whoſe villainous councils have almoſt ruined you and us, leaſt I may be thought an enemy to their perſons, rather than their councils. But, Sir, I beſeech you call to mind what advice every man hath given you, and what paths thoſe you have been guided by,

by, chalked out for you to walk in: The ſucceſs of their councils will tell you what opinion to have of them, whether they love you, and have ſerved you faithfully.

Could they intend your ſervice or ſafety, that adviſed your Majeſty to entertain King James's army, thereby making you liable to their great arrears, and putting your perſon and cauſe into the hands of the enemy? You have not much reaſon to think better of them by their behaviour ſince that time. And then, Sir, you may well remember, there did not five hundred men of all King James's troops come over to your ſide till he left them them and ran away; and many of thoſe too forſook him, as rats do a falling houſe, ſeeing the ſouls of the nation againſt him, and that his own heart failed him.

Can you think, Sir, that any of thoſe men who were raiſed by him out of the dirt, and have ſerved him in all intereſts with all their hearts and might, could be ſuch villains as to leave him, but that they ſaw it abſolutely neceſſary for their own ſafety, not love for you? and doubtleſs they have ſo much honour and gratitude, as to betray you to him whenever they can: No man of reaſon can think otherwiſe of them.

Can they be your friends, who have recommended perſons to moſt employments that hate you and your government, and can never be faithful to you; and where they could not put in all ſuch, as in ſome of the great commiſſions, yet have they prevailed for at leaſt one or two of their friends, who delay and entangle your buſineſs, and make it impoſſible for the reſt to ſerve you as they ought, let them deſign it ever ſo ſincerely? By the means of theſe men, your enemies never want intelligence how all your buſineſs goes every where.

If your Majeſty will pleaſe to look into the charters of your commiſſioners of the treaſury, admiralty, cuſtoms, navy, and exciſe, you will find in every place ſome whom

all England are amazed to ſee employed and truſted by you, and believe you ſtrangely impoſed upon in having recommended to you men who are marked to the world for infamous and corrupt knaves on every change or turn of government.

But what ſurprizes yet more is, that many of them were confidents of King James's, and acted as much to carry on his intereſts and deſigns as it was poſſible for them. I wiſh they did not ſo ſtill, or that they were not in a condition to render him greater ſervice where they are, than they were capable of in all their life-time before.

Theſe men poiſon and trouble your buſineſs in its firſt motion; and it can never go well while they have the direction.

Almoſt all their imps are as bad as they, and many in your own family of the ſame ſtamp. Some of thoſe who daily ſerve, wiſh every bit you eat, and drop you drink, may poiſon you. Though it ſeems very ſtrange that any man ſhould have the impudence to recommend ſuch perſons to your Majeſty; yet we ceaſe to wonder, when we ſee the corruption of your court and miniſters. The whole town is filled with infamous ſtories, how they ſell all employments more publicly and with leſs ſhame than in either of the two laſt reigns. Good God, Sir, what a diſhonour is this to your Majeſty! At this rate, in a little time, the baſeſt and vileſt of men, and the moſt inveterate of your enemies, will buy themſelves into all places about you; your miniſters will be deteſted and abhorred, your court deſerted by all honeſt men, and your government grow cheap and deſpiſed.

Can they be your friends, who laboured to replace King James upon the throne, and bring your Majeſty to terms with him, when he had no power to ſupport himſelf? Being not able to prevail for this in the Convention, they

they desired a regency: That being rejected, they set up the pretended Prince of Wales his title, and demanded evidence of his being supposititious. That being not thought necessary,

They would have vested the royal power in the Queen alone, without your Majesty, thereby making the husband subject to the wife, contrary to the law of God: But that being carried against them,

They would have made you both Queen and King, giving the Queen still the preference; and that being refused,

They would have made your Majesty King, and her Queen, settling the royal power equal in both.

So that, Sir, they struggled for every thing that could be devised against you, before they would agree to make you King alone; and it is remarkable, they never yielded any one point, until your friends did, as well by threats as arguments, oblige them to comply.

You see by this, Sir, how they set themselves against you. In that great affair, there could not happen a greater occasion to try who were your friends and enemies, and it was hoped you would make your judgment of men by it; for those who would not have you King, were it in their power, would have made you nothing.

I cannot forbear acquainting your Majesty with what was said at that time in the house of lords, by the Earl of Nottingham, though perhaps you may have heard it already.

He confessed that England was much obliged to the Prince of Orange, and that he was confident his Highness proposed nothing to himself but the glory of freeing us; and that he had too much honour, justice, and religion, to aim at the crown. If that were expected, it was not in our power to give: The reward was too great in itself; and we should pay too dearly for our liberty:

For, ſuppoſing the worſt, King James was an old man, and could not live long, and the Prince of Wales was a child; ſo that the adminiſtration muſt fall into the hands of the nation, and they might eaſily reſtore the government to themſelves.

I ſhall obſerve upon theſe queſtions, that it will be found upon inquiry, that the perſons who eſpouſed them in both houſes (though ſome have been preferred, and truſted by your Majeſty) have ſince oppoſed your Majeſty's ſervice and intereſt in every debate.

And that I think it next to an impoſſibility for any of them to be ſincerely in your intereſt, or that you ought in prudence to truſt them.

It was the beſt ſervice that could be done at that time for King James; for, while they delayed your Majeſty's being declared King, they both obſtructed your poſſeſſing yourſelf of Ireland, and making the neceſſary preparations for the war in due time.

While the rebels ſtrengthened themſelves there, and the French King ſent them the late King to head them againſt you, and ſupplies of all ſorts, had it not been for theſe traitors to your Majeſty and the Proteſtant religion, Ireland would have been maſtered with little expence; and they ought to have anſwered for the treaſure that ſhall be ſpent in reducing it.

Can you believe, Sir, that they who would have made terms for King James againſt you, will not be ready, if any change happens, to make terms with him for themſelves, though it were by delivering your Majeſty up to him?

You ſee, Sir, how King James is ſupported by the French King, and with what inſolence the Papiſts, and many others, have carried themſelves againſt you and your government. Many thouſands talk againſt you in all public places, who not only declare their hopes of ſeeing King James here very ſuddenly, but ſeem aſſured that

that the nation will riſe to reſtore him as unanimouſly as they did to bring you in.

This confidence cannot be without ſome grounds, either from the aſſurances given by his friends in your councils, or that they ſee your buſineſs ſo ill managed, that it is impoſſible for the government to ſubſiſt.

At this conjuncture you ought certainly to truſt none but ſuch as you can entirely confide in; ſuch alone whoſe integrity is known to the world, whoſe principles have brought them to your ſervice and intereſt, and whoſe ſafety and welfare is bound up with yours; not ſuch who would be in the ſame poſts, or better, ſhould King James be re-eſtabliſhed, and have betrayed you to him ever ſince you employed them.

This ſpirit that has riſen up againſt you is ſpread over England, as well as about the town; and though you may not think the militia of much uſe againſt diſciplined troops, yet if your Majeſty will put it into ſuch hands as you can truſt, they will be able to prevent any riſings or tumults that can be in the country, and ſecure your peace at home: Therefore, Sir, it cannot be ill advice to ſettle it all over England as ſoon as poſſibly you can; They are paid by the country, and do not coſt you one penny.

There is another part of your conduct which hath been of great prejudice to you; that you have carried yourſelf with ſuch coldneſs, ſlowneſs, and indifference in all buſineſs, and between all parties; the hands and hearts of your friends have been thereby weakened, and your enemies ſtrengthened againſt you.

It was expected by all men, when you took the government upon you, that you would have ſettled it both with wiſdom and vigor, that you would have made yourſelf ſafe from your foes, and put all power into the hands of your friends. Your enemies gave over all hopes, but

thoſe of your mercy, and would never have thought of diſturbing your peace, had they not been invited to it by the ill conduct of your affairs.

It is no wonder that ſo many of them are crept in about you, and that ſome have gained ſuch credit with you, ſince you began very early to forget your friends who had beſt ſerved you, and ſhowed more kindneſs to thoſe who had moſt oppoſed you. Certainly, Sir, you are the firſt King ſet up by power, that ever ſought to be ſupported by his enemies.

Were they not fit to be entruſted and employed by you, who had hazarded their all for you? or could you think thoſe who had placed the crown upon your head not able to keep it there? Thoſe are doubtleſs two very good arguments for their fidelity and power to ſerve you.

Your coldneſs and flowneſs in buſineſs hath made your enemies think you are afraid of them; and your trimming between parties is beneath you and your cauſe. Had you made uſe of thoſe men alone who always appeared true to the intereſt of England, your enemies would not have had the confidence to have oppoſed you in any thing; your buſineſs would have gone on ſmooth and undiſturbed, and your reign would have been glorious; but employing a medly of men, who can never act heartily together, your friends could not ſerve you, and your enemies were encouraged to intrigue againſt you.

The wiſeſt and beſt thinking men do not comprehend what your Majeſty can propoſe to yourſelf from that ſcheme of meaſures which ſeems to be laid before you.

Can it be for your Majeſty's ſervice to truſt or employ any of King James's creatures?

Or any who are notoriouſly known to be diſhoneſt men?

Or ſuch whoſe mal-adminiſtration heretofore made them hated by the people?

Or

Or any of them who had a hand, in the two laſt reigns, in bringing us into the miſery your Majeſty hazarded your all to deliver us out of?

You ſee, Sir, into what an ill condition they brought your affairs in one year. Is it not manifeſt that ſome of them have betrayed you, that others have cheated you, and that altogether they put your buſineſs into ſuch confuſion, that you know not which way to turn yourſelf? Your friends are hereby much diſcouraged, and rendered uncapable of ſerving you; for they neither can, nor will, act in the company, or under the direction of ſuch villains.

Your whole people complain, and your parliament is diſcontented at it. If the parliament had not ſeen theſe men employed, I dare affirm they would have ſettled upon your Majeſty and the Queen the revenue for life. In the laſt ſeſſions they complained of theſe people, yet were then willing to give the revenue for five or ſeven years; but now they ſee ſo much treachery, and the miſcarriages grown to ſuch a bulk, that they can no longer bear them. Your Majeſty ſuffers by it, for they will not truſt while theſe men are about you.

Who would have thought it poſſible, that the people of England ſhould ſo ſoon grow jealous of you, their great deliverer, as not to truſt you with the revenue for more than one year? Theſe men are the only cauſe of it; and firſt or laſt, you will find it abſolutely neceſſary to part with them.

If they loved your Majeſty, they would withdraw themſelves for your ſake; and if they were wiſe men, they would retire for their own: For if they bring us to confuſion again, they will be certain ſacrifices to the public.

Doubtleſs they endeavour to miſrepreſent the parliament to your Majeſty, as if they deſigned to leſſen your power when they queſtion thoſe about you, or are diſſatiſfied

fied with any you employ; thereby hoping to ſhelter themſelves under your prerogative, and prevail with your Majeſty to protect them upon theſe ſpecious pretences.

This hath ever been the trick of wicked miniſters, and as often their ruin.

But, Sir, we hope it will not be in the power of any to fix thoughts in your Majeſty in prejudice of your parliament. No King of England can be great or happy without a perfect good underſtanding between him and his people; their intereſt is the ſame; and they are enemies to both who endeavour to divide them.

We cannot doubt your Majeſty's affection for the Proteſtant religion and the people of England, ſince you have ſo much expoſed yourſelf to ſuccour them: And we hope, that neither the diſappointments you may have met with on the one hand, nor the inſinuation of ill men on the other, will divert you from finiſhing the good you intended us.

It is true you have an aftergame to play, yet we hope it may be retrieved, if your Majeſty pleaſe to take meaſures accordingly.

Open your heart to your people, let them ſee that you ſincerely deſire their good, and that it is your misfortune, not choice, that you have employed perſons you find them diſſatisfied with; tell them that you are ready to quit whoever they diſlike, and that you will never keep any about you who are ſuſpected to them.

The putting away all thoſe who are complained of, cannot have any dangerous conſequence; for their intereſt is ſo ſmall, that altogether they cannot bring a hundred men either for or againſt you.

This will regain you all the hearts you have loſt; this will fill the iſland with acclamations in your praiſe; this will make the parliament give you all the money you can want or deſire, and your name renowned to all ages.

We

We are fully perſuaded that your Majeſty does really intend the good of England; and ſince you do, why ſhould you not take the moſt ready courſe to make yourſelf and us eaſy and happy?

Since it hath not pleaſed God to bleſs you with children, you will by this means raiſe yourſelf a name more glorious to poſterity, than if you had children to make princes over many nations.

And if you had children to ſucceed you here, yet this would be the way to eſtabliſh your throne; for no King can be ſo great in England as he that reigns in the hearts of his people; and he that ſincerely deſires their good, may command the laſt penny they have to give, and every drop of their blood to ſerve him.

The propoſal of ſettling a revenue, by act of parliament, upon the Princeſs Ann of Denmark, was fortunate for your Majeſty, for thereby you ſaw the number of your friends; and that if you take right meaſures, you may carry any thing in this houſe of commons. Your enemies could not have a more plauſible queſtion to draw in as many to their ſide as can be brought againſt you on any occaſion; yet you heard how weak they were; the deſign was plain to give the Princeſs a great revenue, and make her independent upon your Majeſty, that ſhe might be the head of a party againſt you.

This was laboured by the Torys and High Church men, and carried for you by the honeſt old Whig intereſt: So that, Sir, you have clear demonſtration, which is the ſtronger; and we hope you will no longer delay eſpouſing the honeſter part of the nation.

Thoſe who made you King, and thoſe who keep your power from being eclipſed, deſire you to lay aſide the obnoxious men about you; and, Sir, we hope you will gratify us in a requeſt that is both for your honour and intereſt.

Your

Your circumſtances are ſuch, by reaſon of enemies at home, and your wars abroad, that you will always want to be ſupported by parliaments, therefore it is neceſſary that you do what you can to ſatisfy your people, and do nothing to diſoblige them to bring yourſelf into diſputes with them, for it may be of moſt dangerous conſequence.

It is obſervable, in the reigns of King James the Firſt, King Charles the Firſt and Second, and the late King, that when they once came to have differences with their parliaments, they could never after call any new parliament that would do any thing for them; and, on the contrary, that Queen Elizabeth's compliance and affability made her wonderfully beloved, and her parliaments grant whatever ſhe deſired.

If your Majeſty likes this advice, there be ſome honeſt men about you whom you may conſult with to improve it; tho' I proteſt that none of them know of this paper's coming to you, and am confident they will think theſe the only means to recover your almoſt loſt game; and it is what was done by King Henry the Fourth, a great Prince, before you.

I entreat your Majeſty's pardon for this preſumption, and remain

Your moſt dutiful and loyal

December 25th, 1689. Subject and ſervant:

In King William's box there is the following letter to him, in the year 1689, which ſeems written by Mr. Hampden, diſſuading him from going to Ireland.

YOUR Majeſtie having been pleaſed, as I am inform'd, to communicate to ſeveral perſons your reſolutions of going into Ireland, the great objections that occur to

me are ſuch, that the infinite zeal I have for your Majeſty's ſervice, makes me preſume, in all humility, to lay them before you.

Firſt, Sir, It is greatlie to be feared, that ſince almoſt nobodie hath eſcaped ſickneſs that hath gone thither, your Majeſty will hardly eſcape it; and how fatal that may be, not only to England, but to Europe, every body knows, Ireland bearing no proportion to the concern and intereſt the world hath in the prolongation of your Majeſtie's life; the reaſons whereof are plain, but too long for this paper.

2dly, The great numbers of men which it will be neceſſary for your Majeſty to carry over, and the many volunteers who will be deſirous to follow your Majeſtie, and will be compoſed of ſuch as are moſt affectionate to your royal perſon, will expoſe theſe two kingdoms too much to the deſigns of turbulent and diſaffected perſons, too many whereof appear to be in England as well as Scotland, who no doubt have an underſtanding together; and 'tis to be feared they do but wait for ſuch an opportunity to execute their deſigne.

3dly, It appearing manifeſtlie alreadie, that all things allmoſt for the ſupport of the armys muſt be ſupplied from hence, and how difficult it is to doe it, even when we have had the royal authority to command it to be done: Your Majeſtie will eaſily believe, that it will be next to impoſſible, when that is wanting, to furniſh in time, and ſufficiently, for an army near three times as big as this was this laſt year.

4thly, The difficultys will be infinite in ſettling the adminiſtration of the government during your Majeſty's abſence. If your Majeſty intruſts your councills to a few, there exception will be taken, and jealouſies will increaſe, though perhaps as unreaſonably as hitherto they have done. If your Majeſty make a full counſell, then factions

and miſunderſtandings will ariſe amongſt them, which will obſtruct buſineſs; beſides that it cannot eaſily be reſolved whether there ought to be any parliament or not, even upon the greateſt occaſions.

Laſtly, the expence of treaſure will be ſo great, that it ſeems to put the whole fate of Europe upon the ſucceſs of the expedition, which can never be certain, from the ſituation of the country, the unhealthy weather, the want of proviſion, and many other difficultys.

That I may explain the reaſon laſt offered, give me leave humblie to lay before you Majeſtie the ſtate of the treaſure, and your charge for the next year.

The land-forces will coſt - -	2,500,000
Your navy, - - -	1,400,000
The civil liſt, - - -	0,600,000
The debt already contracted, -	1,400,000
The contingent charges of tranſports, clothing, magazines, hay, artillery, and carriages, &c. - - - -	300,000
Total	6,200,000
Towards this there appears a proſpect only of two millions, granted by parliament and the revenue in all, - -	3,000,000
So there will be a debt, - -	3,200,000

This debt amounts to ſo formidable a ſum, that the effects of it appear terrible: For, firſt, the want of money will be ſo great, that your army will in a great meaſure unpaid: 2dly, It is almoſt certain that it will create obſtructions in all neceſſary ſupplies to the army from time to time, on which the ſucceſs of the whole buſineſs will depend; and your Majeſtie's honor, and the

the glory of your name, and the welfare of theſe kingdoms, are things of too great moment to be hazarded againſt ſuch apparent difficulties: But, 3dly, It is to be feared that the merchants who are to furniſh powder and ſtores, and the navy and victualls, will have ſo loſt their credit, that it is to be doubted whether it will be poſſible to ſett out a fleet another year, which, added to the danger of a mutinie, which may juſtly be feared in an army ſo much unpaid as this muſt be, ſeems to reduce your Majeſtie's affairs in theſe kingdoms to the laſt diſtreſs.

And ſhould the beſt thing that can, happen, notwithſtanding theſe apparent dangers, which is the totall reduction of Ireland, this debt would be ſo great, that the parliament will certainly quarrel with the ill huſbandry, and ſay it might have been done for leſs; and the factious will certainlie make uſe of that argument, and the diſtreſſes your Majeſtie's affairs will be in for want of money, to offer things more ungratefull to your Majeſtie than hitherto they have done. To cure all this, in my poor opinion, there is but one way, which is to reduce the charge, whatever the conſequences be, to ſuch a proportion, that the warr may be carried on, and the government ſubſiſt, and the armies and fleet well paid, and thereby depend and be affectionate to your Majeſtie's ſervice, though leſs numerous by this means. So Ireland will infallibly fall into your Majeſtie's hands the next year, if it doe not this. Your Majeſtie will be free from clamours for monie, and all the uneaſie conſequences of it; your mind will be at eaſe, and your affairs, though not ſo raiſed in their victories, will be more ſafe, and if a diſappointment happen, it will be leſs afflicting, and eaſier repaired; and whatever happen of objection from the parliament, there is this anſwer obvious, that your Majeſtie hath done all that the ſupplies they furniſhed you with could enable you to do. But, Sir, if with this leſſer

army and fleet, you ſhould happen to be ſo victorious but to a degree of getting Dublin; then, Sir, as the glorie would be the greater, ſo every body that had money would be readie to lay it out upon adventures of lands there, to a degree of ſupplying your treaſure, whatever the parliament doe. To explain all the happy effects of ſuch an accident, would be too long here. There is one thing more which ſeems abſolutely neceſſary, which is, that after the raiſing of the parliament, your Majeſty go into Scotland, to ſettle that kingdom; at which journey your Majeſtie will doubtleſs take ſuch care as that your Majeſtie will be ſafe for many years from having diſturbance from thence, and ſo defeate thoſe that depend upon them here. I ought here to have offered your Majeſtie a ſcheme for reducing the charge of the next year, to the proportion I mentioned; but not knowing how far your Majeſtie will approve this humble opinion, and beſides, there being ſo many abler men here to make it, I do not here offer it; but if your Majeſtie pleaſes to encourage my zeal, ſo as to command my thoughts, I will lay them before your Majeſtie with that integrity and true loyalty which I muſt always have to your Majeſtie's ſervice.

In King William's box there is a letter from Lord Delamer to the Marquis of Caermarthen, in the year 1689, on the ſame ſubject with Mr. Hampden's. Part of it is as follows:

THE ſmall regard which the King has given to my advice and opinion, as well in relation to things as perſons, is an unanſwerable argument to me, that I ought rather to be ſilent, than unaſkt to offer him my ſentiments upon his going into Ireland; but whether ſuch neglect of

me has proceeded from a mean opinion of my underſtanding, or a diſtruſt of my ſincere inclinations to his ſervice, or elſe from a greater reliance his Majeſty may have in your abilities, and the integrity of others, I know not; yet I cannot but declare, that it grates the harder upon me to ſee a preference given to thoſe who have juſtly rendered themſelves ſuſpected, by oppoſing his having the crown, and obſtructing every thing that tends to the ſettling of it ſince it was upon his head.

They are not many who will not allow me to have a competent meaſure of ſenſe, and the number is not greater that think I act againſt my judgment; and muſt it not be a moſt ſenſible trouble, to be regarded as if I were a knave or a fool, and by him with whom voluntarily and unaſkt I ventured all I had in the world, and waſted a great part of it, and have exerted the utmoſt of my underſtanding and intereſt to make him eaſy, ſafe, and great? But I have this to ſupport me, that I have not done any thing to give him the leaſt cauſe to diſtruſt me, nor ever offered him any advice which the iſſue of it did not prove I was in the right.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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